THE HISTORY OF OLIVER CROMWEL.

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THE HISTORY OF OLIVER CROMWEL,

Lord Protector

Of the COMMON-WEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

BEING

An Account of all the Battles, Sieges, and other Military Atchievements, wherein he was engaged, in these three Nations.

And likewise

Of his Civil Administrations, while he had the Supream Government, till his Death.

Relating only Matter of Fact, without Passion or Partiality.

By *ROBERT BURTON*.

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To the READER.

THere have been few Persons upon whose Actions so many different Sentiments have passed, as upon those of Oliver Cromwel; *some advancing his Courage and Reputation to the height, others on the contrary depressing them as low, and not allowing that he had any Thing Praise-worthy in his Conduct, in those great Employments and Offices, even the Government of the three Nations, which he passed through: Yea, they invade the Almighty's Province, of judging the Hearts and Thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocrisy and Ambition, asserting, That he had Hopes and Expectations of raising himself to that Grandeur whereto he after arrived, many Years before he attained it; nay, so early as when he was but a Collonel, and can hardly be thought to have had the least Prospect thereof. But to leave every Man to his Opinion in this Matter, I thought it might not be unacceptable to my Countrymen, to give a plain and impartial Account of Matters of Fact performed and acted by him, both in his Military and Civil Capacity, without Reflections on Parties, which ought to be the Care of a faithful Historian, if he expects to be believed by Posterity. It is a Maxim,* That great Virtues have been often mixed with great Vices in many great Men in the World; *neither is* Cromwel *excused from this Censure; who had several worthy and blameable Qualities in him; but since he is out of the reach either of good or bad Report, I shall leave him, and refer you to read his Atchievements, which are briefly related in the following Manual.*

Robert Burton.

THE HISTORY OF OLIVER CROMWEL.

OLiver Cromwel was descended of an ancient Family in Huntingtonshire, who had a plentiful Estate; his Grandfather was Sir Henry Cromwel, a Person of good Reputation, and had Issue five Sons, Sir Oliver his eldest, Henry, Robert, Richard and Philip. This our Oliver Cromwel was Son of the 3d Brother Richard, who was in much Esteem in his Country, and married Eliz. Steward, Niece of Sir Rob. Steward, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in that County, by whom he had this Oliver, who was born in Huntington, April 25. 1599, and had his Name given by his Uncle Sir Oliver. When he was a Child he seemed to delight in manlike Exercises, and by the care of his Father was sent to the Free-School of that Town, and afterward to Sydney College in Cambridge, where while he was a Student, there were several Omens of his future Grandeur, and he was observed more to be inclined to the military than contemplative Life: During his continuance here his Father died, upon which he returned home, and

ſpent his time in the youthful Follies and Extravagancies incident to Perſons of his Age and Temper; ſo his Mother, by the Advice of her Friends, ſent him up to London, and placed him in Lincolns-Inn, to quallify him for a Gentleman, and put him in a Capacity to be ſerviceable to his Country.

Having continued here ſome time, and not able to confine himſelf to this ſedentary Imployment, he again returns into the Country, and there proceeds in the ſame lewd Courſes as before, but as he grew in Years he became more ſolid and conſiderate, ſo that in a while he was as remarkable for his Sobriety, as before for his Rudeneſs and Vanity, which ſo pleaſed his Uncle Sir Rob. Steward, that he left him his Heir to a fine Eſtate of 4 or 500 Pounds a Year. But before this came into his Hands by the Death of his Uncle, the Reputation of it, and the remarkable Alteration in his Diſpoſition, recommended him to Eliz. Daughter of Sir James Boucher, whom he married: And though at firſt, when this notable Reformation was perceived in him, he adhered to the Church of England, frequenting the moſt famous Preachers with much ſeeming Warmth and Zeal; yet when thoſe called Puritans grew Popular, he began to have a good Opinion of them, inviting the Miniſters to his Houſe, and entertaining them with much Kindneſs; and to demonſtrate the reality of the Change of his Mind, there is an Inſtance of his freely returning a conſiderable Sum of Money to a Perſon from whom he had won it ſome Years before by Gaming.

Such Actions, and the ſeeming Sincerity of his Converſation, raiſed his Eſteem yet higher with all Perſons of that Party, who had ſuch an Opinion of his Wiſdom and Abilities, that when King Charles I. called that Parliament in 1640, which for its Duration was named, The Long, he was by the Intereſt of his Friends elected Parliament Man

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for the Town of Cambridge. Soon after the War began between the King and Parliament; one Party declaring they took Arms for defending the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the other the Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of the People. When this fatal Diviſion happened, wherein ſo many Thouſands loſt their Lives and Eſtates, Cromwel, whoſe Inclination was always Martial, preſently ingaged in the Quarrel, and having a Commiſſion from the Parliament, quickly raiſed a Troop of Horſe for their Service, of the moſt promiſing Men they could chooſe; and to try their Valour in Jeſt, before they came to exerciſe it in Earneſt, he ſecretly ordered a dozen of them to iſſue out ſuddenly upon the reſt, with a Trumpet ſounding a Charge, as if they came from ſome of the King's Garriſons not far off, which they performed with ſo much briskneſs, that about 20 of the new Troopers fled with all poſſible Speed, whom Cromwel having reproached for their Cowardice, diſmounted and caſhier'd, mounting their Horſes with Perſons of a more couragious Temper.

He was likewiſe a Commiſſioner in the Ordnance for ſettling the Militia, whereby the Eaſtern Counties aſſociated together, declaring they would ſtand by the Parliament againſt all Oppoſers; and Cromwel being ſenſible that the Univerſity of Cambridge was moſt inclined to the Royal Intereſt, he had a particular regard to the Place of his Education, and very dexterouſly ſecured both the Town, and a great quantity of the College Plate, even at the very Inſtant when it was upon the Point of being conveyed to the King at Oxford. After this he forms a Garriſon at Whitleſea, where a Bridge joins the County of Norfolk with the Iſle of Ely, and is the only Paſſage from thence into Lincolnſhire, the greateſt Part whereof was poſſeſt by the King's Party; and by this means he cut off all Communication between the King's Party of both Counties, wherein he had the Aſſiſtance

of Coll. Ireton, with whom he here became first acquainted.

The King, in Opposition to the Association which the Parliament had settled, issued out his Commission of Array, which was first designed to be put in Execution by Sir Henry Connisby, High Sheriff of Hartfordshire at St. Albans, who thereby intended to raise the County for the King, but while he was going to proclaim the Parliament, and their General the Earl of Essex, Traytors; by the vigilance of Cromwel he was prevented in his Purpose, who coming suddenly into the Town with a Party of Horse, surprized Sir Henry, and some other Gentlemen his Assistants, whom he sent to London Prisoners, to the great satisfaction of the Parliament, who were somewhat disturbed that such an Attempt should be made so near the City, and returned him the Thanks of the House, from this Time looking upon him as a Person of Merit and Conduct: After which he soon augmented his Troops to 1000, many being willing to adventure their Lives with such a fortunate Commander. And hearing that some Knights and Gentlemen were met at Lower Toft in Suffolk, with Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Baker, &c. designing to make a Counter-Association in that County and Norfolk for the King's Service; with indefatigable Diligence he marches thither, securing them all, which was a fatal Blow to the King's Interest; and Lyn-Regis, which the Royalists maintained, being soon after surrendered, was so great a Discouragement to them, that during the whole War they could never after find any Opportunity to shew their Affection to the King's Cause.

The associated Counties being thus firmly settled for the Parliament, Cromwel was made Lieut. General to the Earl of Manchester, who had a separate Command in those Counties, and was now ordered to march Northward with those Forces, and join General

General Leſly and the Scots, aſſiſted by Sir T. Fairfax, for reinforcing the Siege before York, then beleaguer'd by Leſly: In his March he blocks up the Garriſon of Newark, and meeting ſome of their Party at Grantham, charged them with ſuch Fury, that though much Superior to him in Number, yet himſelf marching in the Van, he ſoon put them to flight. Having thus made a quick Diſpatch at Newark, he proceeded to York, in which the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle had put the beſt Part of the King's Forces.

The King having had an Advantage againſt the E. of Eſſex at Leſtithel in Cornwal, ſent away Prince Rupert as General, with a powerful Army to raiſe the Siege of York, which he judged to be of great Importance; the three Generals, Leſly, Mancheſter, and Fairfax, drew off their Forces rom the City to fight him, as knowing if they got the Day, it muſt be ſurrendered to the Victor without Blows. The Prince having Notice of their raiſing the Siege, ſent ſome of his Troops toward Haſſam-Mote, to face General Leſly and his Scots; but in the mean time he enters into York with 2000 Horſe, and all Proviſions for their Relief, after which he reſolved to fight the Parliamentarians, tho' diſſwaded by the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle, knowing what Hazard the Eſtates of the King's Friends would run if he ſhould miſcarry, and that upon the Fate of this Battle the gain or loſs of the North depended. However the Prince pretending to march to Tadcaſter, Leſly with his Army followed him, but returning again ſuddenly to Marſton-Moor, he takes what advantage of Ground he thinks fit, and Leſly coming up, the Generals marſhall'd their Army in the beſt Order they could for the ſhortneſs of time, Fairfax and Leſly's Horſe making the Right Wing, and the Scots Troops and Mancheſter the Left, under the Command of Cromwel, which Charge was that Day committed to

him; the Foot making up the main Body. The Armies being drawn up in this Form, the first Onset was performed by P. Rupert's Left Wing, with such Fury that they broke the Parliament's Right, and pursuing their Advantage with much Vigour, the Earth was soon covered with the Slain. Cromwel being in the Left Wing, and ignorant of the Misfortune of the Right, with much Courage engages the Prince's Right Wing, which quickly altered the Scene of Affairs, and snatched the Victory out of the Prince's Hand, who seemed in probability to have obtained it. For Fairfax's Forces were totally dissipated, and beaten out of the Field, when Cromwel with his Troops fell on with such Resolution, that he routed the Prince with his Reserves, and with the same Violence charged the Marquiss of Newcastle's Foot, who yet stood till the Field was almost cleared, and then were forced to give way to the number of their Enemies; there were many slain, especially in the pursuit. Cromwel here obtained the Name of Iron-sides, from the impenetrable firmness of his Troops, which no Force could separate or break. It is reckoned to be the bloodiest Fight that happened during the War, it being judged near 10000 Men were slain on both sides. Upon this defeat, P. Rupert and his Followers charge the Miscarriage upon the Marquiss of Newcastle, and he again upon them, who thereupon left the Kingdom. The Consequence of this Victory was the rendition of [illegible], which being now afresh besieged, and despairing of Succour, Sir Tho. Glemham the valiant Governour was obliged to deliver it up.

This Success raised Cromwel's Reputation higher still, and the Parliament at Westminster were extreamly pleased with his Courage and Prudence, that when he saw Part of the Army routed, yet with an undaunted Presence of Mind, he took Occasion from thence to animate his Soldiers to

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the more vigorous Recovery of the Victory, even when the Scots had timerously left the Field, and of whom, for this and other Reasons, he had no great Opinion afterward. Several other Exploits he was ingaged in, both in the North and West, even before he had any considerable Command. For while he was in the same Quality under the Earl of Manchester, he was ordered to return to the North to oppose the King, then marching triumphantly from the West after the Defeat of Essex, who having been unfortunate in his Enterprizes, Cromwel this successful Commander was joined with him, who at the second Battle at Newbury, about four Months after Marston-Moor, was favoured, though not with a compleat Victory, yet with such good Fortune, that where his Troops were, the Royalists gave back with so much precipitation as greatly endangered the King's Person, had not the Earl of Cleveland interposed, and with much Hazard prevented the Pursuit.

A certain Author writes, That when the King summoned the Members of Parliament of his Party to meet at Oxford, in January 1664. Williams A. B. of York was likewise summoned, with whom the King privately consulted what Course was best to be taken in the present Circumstances of Affairs: The Arch-Bishop advised him by all Means to come to an Agreement with the Parliament. For since the Scots were come into England in such numerous Armies, and the English of the Parliament Party in these 2 last Years had gained such military Knowledge, it would in all Appearance be impossible for the King long to withstand their Forces; but above all, he advised the King to get Cromwel over to his Side, if possible; otherwise to take him off by any Means, or else he would be fatal to the King's Cause.

Now was Cromwel less terrible to the Earl of Essex and the Scot's Commissioners, than to the

King's

King's Party, so that one Evening the Earl of Essex, and several of his Confederates, namely, Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, with the Scots Commissioners, were in Consultation how to get rid of him, and sent to the Serjeants Witlock and Maynard about it; who being met, the Earl of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, spake thus in his Scots Dialect (observe that those which the Parliament of England called Malignants, the Scots named Incendiaries.)

Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitlock, I can assure you of the great Opinion both my Brethren and self have of your Worth and Abilities, else we should not have desired this Meeting with you: And since it is his Excellency's (the Earl of Essex) Pleasure that I should acquaint you with the Matter upon which your Counsel is desired, I shall obey his Commands, and briefly recite the Business to you. You ken vary weel that Gen. Lieut. Cromwel is no Friend of ours, and since the advance of our Army into England, he has used an underhand and cunning Means to take off from our Honour, and the Merits of this Kingdom; an evil Requital of all our Hazards and Services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the Affections and Gratitude of the gude People of the Nation in general. It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the Cause of the twa Kingdoms, that this Obstacle or Remora be removed out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small Impediment to us in the gude Design we have undertaken. He not only is no Friend to us, and the Government of our Kirk, but he is no Well-willer to his Excellency, whom you and we have all Cause to Love and Honour; and if he be permitted to go on in this way, may I fear indanger the whole Business: Therefore we are to advise of some Course to be taken for prevention of this Mischief. You ken vary weel the Accord between the twa Nations, and the Union by the solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an Incendiary between the twa Nations, he is to be proceeded

against

againſt. Now the Matter is wherein we deſire your Opinions, What you take the Meaning of an Incendiary to be, and whether Lieut. Gen. Cromwel be not ſike an Incendiary as is meant hereby? and wilk way wad be beſt to proceed againſt him, if he be proved ſike and Incendiary, and that we may clepe his Wings from ſoaring to the prejudice of our Cauſe. Now you may ken, that by our Law in Scotland, we clepe him an Incendiary wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiſeth Difference in the State, to the publick Damage, and he is Tanquam Publicus Hoſtis Patriæ. *Whether your Law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt, who are mickle Learned therein, and therefore we deſire your Judgment in theſe Points.*

To this Mr. Whitlock anſwered, *That the Senſe of the Word* Incendiary *is the ſame here as in Scotland, namely, one that kindleth the Fire of Contention in a State, that kindleth hot burning Flames of Contention: But whether Lieut. Gen. Cromwel be ſuch an Incendiary, muſt be proved either by his Words or Actions; That he took him to be a Gentleman of quick and ſubtile Parts, and who had a great Intereſt in both Houſes of Parliament, and that it would be neceſſary to collect ſuch particular Paſſages relating to him as might amount to prove him an Incendiary, before they could expect the Parliament would proceed againſt him.* Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and others, related ſome particular Paſſages and Words of Cromwel, adding that he had not that Intereſt in the Parliament as was ſuppoſed, and they would willingly have been upon the Accuſation of him, but the Scots Commiſſioners were not ſo forward to join with them in it, and ſo this Affair ended.

The War ſtill continuing with much Bloodſhed and no Period in probability like to be put to it the Parliament apprehended want of Conduct in ſome of their chief Commanders, and reſolved to new Model their Army; and that no Offence might be given to any of their own Members by being diſcarded

diſcarded, they paſs the Self-denying Ordinance, ſo called, whereby they declared, *That no Member of Parliament ſhould bear Office in the Army or Garriſon, but altogether attend the Service of the Houſe, unleſs they had leave for ſo doing; and that within 40 Days from the publiſhing thereof.* By this the Earls of Eſſex, Mancheſter, and Denbigh, Sir W. Walter, Sir Ph. Stapleton, and divers others, were diſmiſſed; after which they recruited their Forces, much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the late defeat in the Weſt, and in a ſhort time they muſtered a compleat Army of 21000; that is, 14000 Foot, 6000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons, Sir Tho. Fairfax General, who gave out divers Commiſſions to them then newly called Independants, and among others Ireton was raiſed to be Commiſſary General of the Horſe, who had newly married one of Cromwel's Daughters, and was as great a Politician as himſelf.

Upon publiſhing this Ordinance, which was in 1645, Cromwel then in the Weſt, in Obedience thereto, returns toward London, and having Notice that Gen. Fairfax was at Windſor, went to wait upon him and take his leave of him; but the Parliament were too ſenſible of his Uſefulneſs and Conduct to diſcharge him; ſo the next Morning a Commiſſion was ſent to him to be Lieut. General for the whole Army. This Alteration gave hopes to the Royal Party of future Succeſs againſt this new Army, ſo many principal Commanders being laid aſide and diſcontented, and ſuch a number of unexperienced Youths liſted. But theſe Expectations ſoon vaniſhed, for Cromwel by Virtue of the diſpenſing Power of the Parliament, being ſtill continued, and advanced to ſo great a Command, to make it appear that they were not miſtaken in their Choice, he inſtantly proceeds to Action, being ſent by Fairfax with a flying Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horſe, conſiſting

ſiſting of the Queen's, the Earl of Northampton's, and Collonel Palmer's Regiments, who with ſome other Troops were marching to Oxford to bring off the King and Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army, and ſo join with the King's main mid-land Forces under Pr. Rupert, then about Worceſter, and then take the Field. In this Exploit, Cromwel was ſo diligent, that with extraordinary Celerity he met with, ſurprized and routed them all at Iſlip-Bridge, taking 500 Horſe, and 200 Priſoners, with the Queen's Standard, and many Perſons of Quality; and puſhing on his Succeſs, having Notice that Sir Wil. Vaughan, with 350 Foot, were marching toward Radcot-Bridge, he followed them, taking their Commander Lieut. Coll. Littleton, and 200 other Priſoners; purſuing the reſt to Belchingdon Houſe, where Coll. Windebank was Governour, and in the height of his Victories ſummoned him to an immediate Surrender, or elſe to expect the utmoſt Vengenace of an inraged Soldiery. The Governour terrified with theſe Threats, and over-perſuaded by ſome Ladies who came to viſit his Bride, he being newly married, and having little Hopes of Relief from Oxford, delivered up the Houſe, with all the Arms and Ammunition therein; for which, when he came to Oxford, he was ſhot to Death by ſentence of a Council of War. This Enterprize was reckoned as a happy Omen of his future Succeſs in his new Honour, and the Prudence of the Parliament magnified in continuing ſo deſerving a Commander in the Army; who, to ſecure his Reputation, reſolved upon a more dangerous Attempt, namely, to reduce Faringdon-Houſe, of which Sir Geo. Liſle, a Perſon of invincible Courage, was Governour, and a Garriſon which had been of great Advantage to the King. To effect this conſiderable Service, he took 600 of Major Gen. Brown's Foot at Abingdon, with which

which he ſtormed the Place, but was as ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to retire with the loſs of 50 of his Soldiers, and in his Retreat was attacked by a Party of Lieut. Goring's Horſe lately come from the Siege of Taunton, who gave Cromwel the firſt Check he had met with, taking three Colours, and Major Bethel Priſoner, and then returned to the Siege at Taunton.

At this time Fairfax had Orders to march to the Relief of Taunton, and Cromwel was left behind with Brown, to watch the Motion of the King's Army at Oxford, who were then ready to take the Field, and to prevent them from joining a brave Body of Horſe that were coming out of Worceſterſhire under the Command of Pr. Rupert and Maurice; but the Royal Army was grown ſo potent, that Cromwel durſt not attempt either to fight or hinder their March, ſo that Fairfax was remanded and ordered to lye before Oxford, to oblige the King to ſecure that Place, and upon Advantage to fight him. The King having joined the two Princes, and raiſed the Siege of Cheſter, beleaguered by Sir Will. Brereton, was marching toward the aſſociated Countries, wherein lay the Strength of the Parliament; ſo Cromwel was ordered with all Speed to ſecure the Iſle of Ely, as being a Frontier to the reſt of the Country: But the King ſate down before Leiceſter, and ſoon took it, which ſo alarmed the Parliament, that they order Fairfax to riſe from Oxford, and ſeek out and fight the King's Army, who (as he writ to his Queen) was then in a more hopeful Condition than during the War. Fairfax obeyed, and Cromwel being recruited with 600 Horſe of the Aſſociation, came to join the Army then marching toward Northampton.

The General had Information that the King had Quartered his Foot and Carriages upon Burrough Hill near Daventry, as if he intended there to expect

pect him, but it was only to tarry till the 1200 Horſe, ſent as a Convoy to the Cattle taken in Leiceſter and Northamptonſhire for Relief of Oxford, were returned, deſigning afterward the Reduction of Pomfret Caſtle in the North, and all the other Places loſt ſince Marſton-Moor; and if Fairfax followed him, to have fought him with the firſt Advantage; which he could not do ſo conveniently where the Parliament had their Garriſons. But Cromwel diſappointed this Project, by whoſe Council Ireton was diſpatch'd with a Detachment of Horſe to take an Account of the Poſture of the King's Army; with Order that if they marched Northward, he ſhould skirmiſh and employ them in the Rear, till the whole Army could arrive and engage. The Day before the Battle the General marched to Gilsborough, five Miles from Burrough Hill, from whence the Royaliſts, their Horſe being come back from Oxford, were bending their Courſe Northward, and the next Night the King was extreamly ſurprized to find Ireton give an Alarm to his Quarters at Naſeby, from whence about eleven a Clock the King departed to Harborough, where Pr. Rupert with the Van of the Army were, and at a Council of War it was reſolved on, as being the King's Opinion, that to ſecure his Rear, they ſhould march no further North, but preſently give the Enemy Battle, depending much upon the Valour of the Foot, who were lately animated by the Plunder of Leiceſter.

This Advice was followed, though moſt of the Officers were for ſtaying till the Lord Goring's Forces came up, but the King being much ſtronger in Horſe doubted not of Succeſs, and the other were as ready to ingage, ſo that both agreeing in Diſcord, a large Field near Naſeby was the Place choſen by both Parties for the Stage of this Tragedy, wherein Fathers fought againſt Sons, and Brothers gave Death to each other, all Obligations

of

of Kindred and Friendſhip being laid aſide, occaſioned by that unnatural Spirit of Diviſion, which Heaven for our Crimes had ſent amongſt us. The King had Intelligence, that Fairfax for fear was retreating to Northampton, but found it a Miſtake, he being then imployed in marſhalling his Army in Naſeby Field, and waiting for his coming. Cromwel and Whalley commanding the Right Wing, and Ireton the Left. The King's Front was compoſed of a gallant Body of Horſe, the Foot made a ſecond Body, the Right Wing commanded by Pr. Rupert and Maurice, the Left by Sir Jacob Aſtley, and the Lord Langley commanded the Northern Brigade of Horſe. Other ancient Commanders, who had been in the Low Countries, having their ſeveral Poſts, the King himſelf being Generaliſſimo. Theſe being drawn out with the Reſerves, took up the whole breadth of the Field: The Parliament's Foot made a firm Body in the midſt, commanded by Major Gen. Skippon, ſecured by the Horſe on each Side. P. Rupert charged firſt with ſuch Fury upon Ireton, notwithſtanding their valiant Reſiſtance, that the Left Wing which he commanded was utterly routed, and his Men driven upon the King's Foot, Ireton was wounded in the Thigh with an Halbert, and kept Priſoner during the Fight, and the Field cleared on that Side. The Prince purſued them through the Town, and then fell upon the Waggons, where being repulſed, he loſt ſo much Time, that Cromwel and Fairfax, who had not yet ſtirred from their Ground, but with ſhort Speeches and Ejaculations were incouraging their Men, came up; and Cromwel clapping Spurs to his Horſe, charged clear through three Bodies of Langdale's Brigade, and utterly routed them, never ceaſing till he had beat the whole Right Wing of the King's Army from their Ground, without any poſſibility of Rallying; ſo that having raked the Field before him,

him, dividing the Horſe from the Foot, they were rendered uſeleſs to each other. In this Encounter, one of the King's Commanders knowing Cromwel, advanced briskly before the Head of his Troops, to exchange a ſingle Bullet with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both Sides forbearing to come in till their Piſtols being diſcharged, the King's Officer with a ſlaunting back Blow of his broad Sword, happened to cut the Ribbon that tied Cromwel's Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head, and now ready to repeat his Stroke, Cromwel's Party came in and reſcued him, and one of them alighting threw up his Headpiece into his Saddle, which he haſtily catching, and a little diſturbed at the Chance, clapt it

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the wrong way on his Head, and so fought the rest of the Day, which proved highly fortunate to his Side, though the King managed the Fight with much Magnanimity and Expertness, and exposed himself to several threatning Dangers in the Field. The Horse being separated from the Foot, fled toward Leicester, Cromwel sent some Troops in pursuit to prevent their rallying, and himself joining with his own Foot, so incompassed the King's Infantry, that notwithstanding the Courage they had shewed that Day, so that their very Enemies admired them, yet being tired and hopeless of Relief, seeing Death on every Side, they laid down their Arms, and begged for Quarter.

This memorable Battle was fought June 14. 1645. The Parliamentarians Word was, *God with Us*; the Royalists, *God and Queen Mary*; and the Success of it gave an absolute and undoubted Victory to the Parliament, there being 5000 Prisoners carried to London, the King's Standard and other Colours being taken, with all the Ordnance, and a very rich Booty; a great Quantity of Gold and Silver, and all the secret Letters of the King, which were carried to London, and publickly read before a great Assembly of Citizens, where many Members of Parliament were present, and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the King's Hand, to refute them if they were Counterfeit. But so few were slain in this Fight, that the Reader may justly wonder how so many Prisoners should be taken, and so much Wealth gotten, with the loss of so little Blood; for on the King's side scarce 400 were slain, and on the Parliaments not 100. The King's Damage was very considerable, who had lost a brave Army, lately heightned with Success by the taking of Leicester, and there seemed no possibility of raising another, the Victors prosecuting their Advantage with much Vigilance and Impetuosity. For marching to Leicester, it

was

was ſoon delivered to them, where Fairfax leaving a Garriſon to hinder the King from recruiting himſelf, followed him cloſe, marching Weſtward, both in purſuit of him, and to raiſe the Siege of Taunton, which had been long block'd up by the L. Goring, and held out to admiration, but upon the approach of the Parliament's Army, the Siege was raiſed to their great Joy, who ſtill purſue Goring, and overtake him near Lamport, where they ingage and put them to Flight. But Cromwel would not ſuffer part of the Horſe to purſue, till being all come up together, he himſelf led them on with ſuch notable Conduct, that moſt of the Foot were made Priſoners, and almoſt all the Cannon taken. From hence he marched to Bridgwater, which tho' of conſiderable Strength, and defended with much Courage, yet is ſoon taken by Storm; for Sir Thomas Fairfax ſits down before it, and after Summons aſſaults the Town deſperately, gaining the lower Part, and then ſends a ſecond Summons, telling them, *That their Denial wrought no other Thoughts of Compaſſion in him, but only to Women and Children, who might ſuffer by the Governour's Obſtinacy.* So divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town, and then a ſecond Aſſault was made ſo effectually, that the Governour capitulated, and ſurrendered it, there being 1000 Officers and Soldiers Priſoners, 44 Barrels of Powder, 1500 Arms, 44 Cannon, and 400 weight of Match taken.

About this time a ſort of People armed themſelves in the Weſt, and took upon them the Name of Club-men, declaring thy would permit no Armies to Quarter within their Bounds, and were ſo hardy as to make Terms with the General, as if by Club-Law they would force him out of their Country, though flusht with Victory, imagining that with their Clubs they were able to force their Swords from thoſe who had ſo lately deprived ſo many

many gallant Men of theirs. But Cromwel doubting the Event of such riotous Proceedings, having Intelligence of the Place of their Assembling, marches toward them with a Party of Horse, tho' they were 4000 strong, and encamped on the Top of a Hill, with their Ensigns displayed, and this Motto on them,

If you offer to plunder, or take our Cattle,
You may be sure we'll give you Battle.

But Cromwel resolves to venture it, and charging up the Hill utterly routs and puts them to flight, taking 400 Prisoners, whom he carried to Sherburn, Sir Lewis Dives being Governour of the Castle, which was then besieged by Fairfax, and in a short time taken by Storm.

Bristol was reckoned a Place of Importance, as being counted the greatest and wealthiest City in the West, wherein Prince Rupert was at that time, with 5000 Horse and Foot, and all necessary Provisions. When the Parliaments Army came before it, the General sends a Summons to the Prince to deliver the City, which being rejected, Cromwel and the chief Officers advise the storming it, whereupon the Prince purposed to surrender, upon Condition to march away in the height of Honour, with their Colours flying, Trumpets, Drums beating, Powder and Match, Baggage, Horse, Arms, ten Pieces of Cannon, and 50 Barrels of Powder. Lastly, The Fortifications to be slighted, and the City to be no more a Garrison. But these Conditions being thought too favourable, they proceeded to storm so warmly, that the Prince, tho' he used all possible Means to preserve it, was obliged to surrender, wherein were found 140 Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, and Victuals in the Royal Fort for 150 Men for 320 Days; the Castle was victualled for half so long. The Prince had in Garrison 2500 Horse, 1000 Foot, 1000 of the trained Bands and Auxillaries; so that

that the gaining this Place was of great Conſequence to the Parliament.

After this Cromwel marches with a Detachment of four Regiments, to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtle of the Devizes, to the natural Fortifications whereof, Sir Ch. Lloyd the Governour had made ſeveral ingenious Additions, ſo that judging it almoſt impregnable, he ſent no other Returns to the Summons, but, Win it and Wear it. Yet the Fortune of Cromwel prevailed againſt all Difficulties, and his Name brought Terror wherever he came, ſo that he quickly forced the Governour to deliver the Place upon Terms. Wincheſter ran the ſame Fate, after the Governour had been mortified by the Battery of ſome Cannon and Mortars: Where Cromwel, who was punctual to Articles, having notice that ſome of his Men had infringed them, he cauſed one to be hanged for an Example to others, and ſent the reſt to Oxford, to the Governour Sir Thomas Glemham, to inflict what Puniſhment upon them he pleaſed.

The next Exploit wherein our Heroe was concerned, was the reducing of Baſing Houſe, which ſeemed to defy all Attempts made againſt it, being the Manſion Houſe of the Marquiſs of Wincheſter, built on a riſing Ground, and ſurrounded with a Brick Rampart lined with Earth, and all incompaſſed with a dry Ditch. The Marquiſs was reſolved to defend it, though at firſt there was none but his own Family, and 100 Muſqueteers from Oxford, but the King ſupplied him as Occaſion required. This was not the firſt time this Garriſon had been attacked without Succeſs, as firſt by the Collonels Norton and Harvey, and then by Sir William Waller with 7000 Men; and though ſome termed him Will. the Conqueror, yet he received here ſuch rude Treatment, as incourged the Beſieged to defend it with the greater Vigour, who in ſeveral gallant Sallies did him great Damage, ſo

that

that the Place seemed impregnable; but Cromwel having settled all Matters at Winchester with the late Governour Sir W. Ogle, marches next Day to Basing, and raises a strong Battery, that quickly made it capable of being assaulted; which Advantage he instantly perceiving, orders a Storm from the several Posts, which though it seemed full of Danger, and might have shocked an ordinary Courage, yet Cromwel, who thought no Place invincible, and the more Danger the more Honour, leads on his Men with such Fury, that the besieged soon found themselves incapable to make any further Resistance, and so were forced to yield upon Articles. The gaining of Basing was reckoned a great Piece of Service to the Nation, whereby the Road was opened for Trade from London to the West, which had been long obstructed by this Garrison. He goes from hence to Longford House near Salisbury, but the Governour despairing of preserving it, after Basing had been forced to surrender to Cromwel's victorious Arms, upon the first Summons delivered it up.

He then marches with the Army, commanded by Fairfax, toward the West. In December they took Tiverton, and with strange Success stormed and took Dartmouth, drove the King's Army into Cornwal, and at Torrington gave Hopton a great Overthrow. In February they entered Cornwal, and obliged Prince Charles to retire thence and sail to the Isles of Scilly, and soon after Hopton's Forces were disbanded, and Pendennis Castle being surrendered to Coll. Forteſcue, the whole County of Cornwal and the West, were by Fairfax and Cromwel reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament, and nothing remained in the North but the Garrison of Newark, so that the Royalists Hopes were very low; only they had some Expectations from a Party still remaining under Sir Jacob Astley, but Col. Morgan encountering him near Stow in the Wold,

Wold, and routed him, and took 1600 of his Men Priſoners, ſo that this Hope ſoon vaniſhed with the reſt; when he was ſeized he ſpake aloud theſe Words, *You have done your Work, and wholly vanquiſhed the King's Party, unleſs your own Diſſentions raiſe them again.*

After this, Newark, the ſtrongeſt Garriſon in the North, was cloſe beſieged by Leven, Points, and Roſſiter, while Fairfax haſtened to beſiege Oxford it ſelf, which was the head Quarters. The King had now no Garriſons left but theſe, Banbury, Wallingford, Worceſter, Ragland, and Pendennis, all which in a ſhort time were alſo taken, and could only glory in this, That they held out after Oxford. The beſieged Newarks, tho' the Plague raged in the Town, and they began to want Proviſions, yet ſuſtained themſelves upon Hopes of ſome Differences between the Engliſh and Scots; for now the Scots began to complain for want of Pay; of the neglect of Church Government, and the Covenant. The Parliament anſwered, *That in two Years ſpace they had received above two hundred thouſand Pounds for Pay, beſides a vaſt Sum which had been extorted from the weeping Inhabitants of the Northern Countries, and that their Army had not anſwered their Expectation, lying idle the beſt time of the Year, and if they were ſo preciſe in obſervation of the Covenant, why contrary thereto, had they put Garriſons into Newcaſtle, Tinmouth, and Carliſle? Neither ought they to mention Religion being unſettled, ſince the Parliament were conſulting about it, being a Matter which requires Time and mature Deliberation.*

From theſe Diſſentions the King expected ſome Advantage, yet Oxford was already blockt up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and Fairfax was daily expected to come and turn it into a cloſe Siege; before this ſhould happen the King reſolved to go out of the City, and conſulting with ſome of his inward Counſellors, it was concluded he ſhould go

to the Scots Camp, then lying before Newark; the King ſent Montruel the French Ambaſſador before, and himſelf ſoon after, as Col. Aſhburnham's Man (who had a Paſs from Fairfax to go out of Oxford about ſome private Buſineſs) with a Cloak bag behind him, eſcaped unknown and came to Newark, which when the beſieged Newarks had notice of, being in great Streights, they upon Conditions ſurrendered the Town. The Scots ſeemed amazed at the King's unexpected coming to them, and ſo ſignified the Matter to the Engliſh Commiſſioners then on the Place. Letters were inſtantly written to London and Edenburgh, and the Parliament at Weſtminſter required the Scots to detain the King at Southwell near Newark, but contrary to this Order, they carried him to Kelham, where a greater Part of their Army lay, and ſoon after without further Order, removed their Camp Northward, and carried him away to Newcaſtle with them, excuſing their Departure by alledging Newark being yielded, no Work was left for them; but that as the King came to them of his own Accord, unexpected, ſo he followed their Army, neither being intreated nor forbidden by them; but they ſeemed to haſten their Departure by Reaſon of a Rumour, that Cromwel with all his Horſe was marching toward them. This Action much offended the Engliſh Parliament, and they complained both of the Scots and the King.

In May 1646. Gen. Fairfax with his whole Army came before Oxford; the City was very ſtrong, being fortified according to the exact Rules of Art to make it impregnable, invironed with regular Forts, and provided with a potent Garriſon of 5000 valiant Soldiers, having great Stores of Proviſions, and the Governor was Sir T. Glemham, who had ſufficiently demonſtrated his Courage and Conduct in holding out York and Carliſle to the

laſt

laſt Extremity. The General diſpoſing his Quarters round the City, ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender, who returned, *That he would ſend to know the King's Mind, and act accordingly.* This Anſwer was not ſatisfactory, yet Fairfax and his Commanders doubting it would be a tedious Siege, were put in hopes by ſome Spies, that it could not hold out long, by reaſon of the Diviſions between the Nobility and Soldiers, the firſt being for treating now, and ſo obtain honourable Conditions; which they did accordingly, and the Parliament decreed, *That the beſieged ſhould have the beſt Conditions, rather than waſte their Army, which might be more uſeful elſewhere; for they deſigned to ſend them into Ireland againſt the Rebels there.*

Thus was Oxford ſurrendered, and the Garriſon marched ought in ſight of Fairfax's Army, with great Quiet and Modeſty on both Sides: The Duke of York was honourably conducted to London, where 2 of the King's Children remained, thither went alſo all the Noblemen; neither were any of the Beſieged denied to go to London, but the Princes Rupert and Maurice, who being commanded to go out of England, prepared for their Departure. Pr. Charles about this time ſailed from Scilly with a few of his inward Counſellors to Jerſey in order to go to his Mother in France, which the King having Advice of, ſent him this ſhort Letter from Newcaſtle.

Charles, I write to you only that you ſhould know where I am, and that I am in Health, not to direct you at this time in any Thing, for what I would have you do I have already written to your Mother, to whom I would have you obedient in all Things, except Religion (about which I know ſhe will not trouble you) and go no whither without her or my Command. Write often to me. God bleſs you.

Your loving Father

C. R.

Soon after the Surrender of Oxford, followed the end of this fierce War; for Worceſter, Wallingford, Pendennis, and Ragland, yielded to the Victors: Peace now ſeemed to be reſtored to England, but the Parliament had no ſecurity, being grievouſly troubled with Factions among themſelves, under the Name of Presbyterians and Independents, not only in Matters of Church Government, but often in their Votes, and in tranſacting almoſt all other Buſineſs; and this Humour ſpread it ſelf into the City, Country, and Camp; and the Parliament doubting Col. Maſſey's Forces might mutiny, upon that Account ſent Fairfax to disband them, being 2500 Horſe; which was quietly done in eight Days time, though they did not then receive their Pay.

The Scots carrying the King into the North, the Parliament Voted, *That the Perſon of the King ſhould be diſpoſed of by the Authority of both Houſes of the Parliament of England*: But the Scots denied to deliver him up, alledging, That he was no leſs King of England than Scotland, which cauſed great Diſſentions between the Nations. But at length upon paying the Scots 200000 Pounds, they agreed to deliver up Berwick, Carliſle, and Newcaſtle, and the King's Perſon alſo to the Engliſh Commiſſioners, who was received with great Reſpect and Honour by the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, and the other Commiſſioners, and waited on with much obſervance, and an honourable Guard to his Palace at Holmby in Northamptonſhire.

The Civil Wars being ended, a Diſſention more than Civil aroſe among the Conquerors, and extreamly imbitter'd the Minds of Men againſt each other, one Party complaining, That the Covenant was broken: The other, That it was not rightly interpreted by them. And on both ſides were Men of Reputation; and ſeveral Petitions were drawn up againſt the Army (lately ſo much admired) as

as Maintainers of the Independent Party, who then lay about Saffron-Walden in Eſſex. Yea, it was debated in Parliament, whether they ſhould be disbanded or not, which Cromwel, who ſided with the Independants, having Notice of, he with Ireton inſinuated into the Soldiers, That the Parliament intended to disband them without their Arrears, or elſe to ſend them into Ireland to dye of the Sickneſs or Famine, which cauſed the Soldiers to uſe contumelious Speeches againſt the two Houſes; a Council was ſet up conſiſting of Commiſſion-Officers, and two private Soldiers out of every Regiment, to meet and conſult for the Good of the Army, and to draw up and preſent all their Grievances to the General, and theſe were called Adjutators: Who having met by the Inſtigation of Cromwel and ſome others, that made them ſenſible of their own Strength, they reſolved upon ſeizing the King at Holmby-Houſe, under pretence of freeing him from that narrow reſtraint under which he was kept by the Parliament's Order. To effect which, Cornet Joyce was ſent thither with 500 Horſe, who took the King out of the Parliament Commiſſioners Hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his conſent; and that the Reaſon alledged by the Actors was, Becauſe certain Perſons had deſigned to take away his Majeſty, thereby to gather Strength to make a new War, which they were ready to prove.

When this was known, an Order paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, and was ſent to the General; 1. *That the King ſhould reſide at Richmond.* 2. *That he ſhould be attended with the ſame Perſons he was at Holmby.* 3. *That Roſſiter's Regiment ſhould guard him.* The Presbyterians who were the greater number in Parliament, being further alarmed by theſe proceedings, reſolved to divide the Army, and ſend

part of it to Ireland, and presently to cashier Cromwel and his Assistants: So they published a Declaration, forbidding the Soldiers to Petition the Parliament as being under their Command: Likewise they had privately resolved to sieze upon Cromwel, then in London, who having Notice of it, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and with full Speed rid to Tripoly Heath, so that his Horse was all in a Foam, and was received with the Acclamations of the whole Army, to whom he discovered the Intentions of the Parliament; whereupon they entred into an Ingagement, not to disband, till the Proposals they had drawn up for regulating all Matters were answered, and marching to New-Market they subscribed thereto, Cromwel putting his Name first, and the rest of the Officers generally followed, so that several Parchment Rolls were filled with their Names. The next Day was brought from the General and his Counsel of Officers, an Impeachment of eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were counted the chief of the Presbyterian Party: namely, Sir W. Waller, Col. Massey, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir Den. Hollis, Col. Long, Mr. Ant. Nicholas, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir Will. Lewis, and Col. Ed. Harley, charging them with hindering the Relief of Ireland, obstructing of Justice, and acting against the Army and Laws of England. The Members declared themselves ready to answer, but the Army would have them seculed from their Seats in Parliament till they had brought in their Answer: So they withdrew by Consent for six Months. After which the Army marched nearer London, and came to Bedford; the King going to the Earl of Bedford's House near Wooburn.

And now some Citizens being for the Presbyterian Party in the House, and the Independants for the Army, great Divisions happened in London; for the Parliament having changed the Militia of

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the City, which had been eſtabliſhed the 4th of May, and put others better affected to the Army in their Rooms, the Presbyterian were extreamly incenſed, and two Days after a Multitude of Citizens and Apprentices coming to the Door of the Commons cried out, That they muſt grant their Petition before they roſe. The Houſe beginning to riſe, they took the Speaker and held him in the Chair, detaining him and the reſt of the Members, till they forced an Order from them, That the King ſhould come to London. After which they adjourned to July 30. but then both Speakers were abſent, having withdrawn themſelves to the Army; ſo two new Speakers were choſen, the Lord Hunſdon, and Mr. Henry Pelham, Barriſter, by whom the following Orders were made that Day. 1. *That the King ſhould come to London.* 2. *That the Militia of London ſhould have Power to raiſe Forces for Defence of the City.* 3. *They ſhould have Power to chooſe a General for thoſe Forces, and that the eleven impeached Members ſhould return to their Seats.* The Citizens armed with theſe Orders, proceed to raiſe Forces, chuſing Maſſey for their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons which had left London, conſulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, *That all Acts and Decrees that had paſſed on July 26. and ſince, ſhould be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declarations of the General and Council of the Army.* It was likewiſe decreed, That the General with his Army ſhould march to London. Upon whoſe approach the Citizens who made ſome ſemblance of Oppoſition, meeting in Common-Council, and finding it impoſſible ſuddenly to raiſe Forces to oppoſe them, they ſent to the General for a Pacification, which by the conſent of the Members of Parliament was granted

them on these Conditions: 1. *That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.* 2. *To recal their late Declaration.* 3. *To relinquish their present Militia.* 4. *To deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of London.* 5. *To disband all the Forces they had raised.* All which, not daring to deny, were instantly ratified, and so Aug. 6. 1647, the Army marched Triumphantly through London to Westminster, with the two Speakers, and the Members of Parliament, whom they restored to their former Seats and the eleven seculed Members left London, some going beyond Sea, and others with Passes to their Houses in the Country. Both Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament gave Thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London; a Months pay was likewise given to the Army for a Gratuity. The next Day Fairfax, Cromwel, Skippon, and the other Commanders, marched from Westminster through London to the Tower, where some Commanders and the Militia were altered; and to curb the City, her Militia was divided, Westminster and Southwark having Power to command their own Trained Bands. And thus was the Presbyterian Party depressed, and all things managed by the Independants and the Army.

After this Fairfax marched out of London, quartering all his Soldiers in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about Whitehall and the Meuse to guard the Parliament, his head Quarters being at Putney; and the King, about the middle of August, after divers removes, was brought to Hampton Court, where he seemed not at all restrained but lived like a Prince in all the Splendor of a Court, all sorts of People being freely admitted to kiss his Hand and wait upon him; yea, his Servants from beyond Sea, even those who had been voted Delinquents, as Ashburnham

burnham, Barkley, and the reſt, were permitted by the Army to have ſafe recourſe to him, which was generally wondered at. About this time a diſturbance aroſe in the Army, by a Party called Levellers, ſome of whom were ſeized at Ware, and ſeveral of the principle Sticklers ſhot to Death, others impriſoned, and all their Favourers caſhier'd, 20 being diſcarded out of one Troop.

And now Propoſitions were ſent to the K. at Hampton Court, agreed upon by both Houſes; but the K. refuſed to comply with them; for Loudon and Lanerick newly came out of Scotland, having privately diſcours'd with the K. ſent Letters to the Parliament, requiring, That the King may come to London, and there Perſonally treat with the Parliament, about the Matters in Controverſy: Though not long before they denied it to be juſt, that before the King had given Satisfacton and Security to the People he ſhould be admitted to London, or to any perſonal Treaty with the Parliament, and refuſed to receive him into Scotland, leaſt he might riſe Commotions there; but they alledged in their Defence, That the King was taken from Holmby againſt his Will, and without conſent of Parliament, and ſtill remained under the Power of an Army, not in that Freedom proper for treating of Matters of ſo great Concernment. But while the Parliament were framing Propoſitions, they were ſurprized with the News that the King was ſecretly withdrawn from Hampton Court, Letters coming from Cromwel about Midnight to the Speaker thereof: For Nov. 12, whilſt the Commiſſioners of Parliament, and Col. Whaley, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King would come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondering at his long Stay, at laſt about nine a Clock, ſome going in miſſed the King, finding his Cloak, and a Letter written with his own Hand to the Commiſſioners to be communicated to the Parliament, wherein having

having discourſed about Captivity and the ſweetneſs of Liberty, he proteſted before God, *He did not withdraw to diſturb the publick Peace, but for his Safety, againſt which he underſtood there was a treaſonable Conſpiracy, &c. and that if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, he ſhould inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew himſelf the Father of his Country.*

There was a Report at that time (ſaith a late Author) and yet continues, That Cromwel privately treated with the King; whereby it was propoſed, That if he cloſed with the Propoſitions of the Army, Cromwel ſhould be made Earl of Eſſex, and Night of the Garter, with a conſiderable Eſtate, or elſe advanced to an higher Degree than any other, that is Vicar General of England, or the like, as his Anceſtor Cromwel was by Hen. 8. But the King being Uxorious would do nothing without the Queen's Advice, who diſliking the Propoſal, he being the principle Enemy to their Family, the King ſent her Word, That though he aſſented to the Army's Propoſals to procure Peace, yet it would be eaſier to take off Cromwel, when only a Peer of England, than now he was a General and Head of an Army. Theſe Letters being intercepted by Cromwel, he reſolved never to truſt the King again, yet doubting he could not manage his Deſigns ſo near the Parliament and City as Hampton Court, he privately ſent the King Word, he was in no Safety there, by Reaſon of the hatred the Agitators had to him, and that he would be in more Security in the Iſle of Wight. Hereupon the King, Nov. 11. 1647. while the Parliament and Scots Commiſſioners were debating the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions, at Night made his eſcape.

The Parliament ſtartled at his Departure, ſent ſome Perſons to the Sea Coaſts to prevent his going beyond Sea; and when it was reported he was concealed

concealed in London, ordered, *That if any Man ſhould cloſely detain the King's Perſon, he ſhould be puniſhed with loſs of Eſtate and Life* But this Cloud ſoon diſſolved, Letters coming from Col. Hammond Governor of the Iſle of Wight, that the King was come thither and had delivered himſelf into his Protection, and that he would diſpoſe of him as the Parliament ſhould appoint, who commending Hammond, ordered, that he ſhould Guard the King with Diligence, and wait on him with Reſpect and Honour, and that all Neceſſaries ſhould be ſent him.

The King ſent from thence a long Letter to the Parliament, wherein he deſired to come to a Perſonal Treaty at London, which was alſo vehemently preſſed by the Scots Commiſſioners: So after a long Debate, Nov. 26, they drew up four Propoſitions in the Form of Acts, to be ſigned by the King in the Iſle of Wight, and then he ſhould be admitted to a perſonal Treaty which were. 1. *To paſs an Act for ſettling the Militia of the Kingdom.* 2. *An Act for calling in all Declarations, Orders, and Proclamations, againſt the Parliament and their Adherents.* 3. *For incapacitating thoſe Lords who were made after the great Seal was carried to Oxford, from ſitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby.* 4. *A Power to be given to the two Houſes to adjourn as they ſhall think fit.* The Commiſſioners of Scotland declared againſt theſe Bills, however Dec. 24. they were preſented to the King, who underſtanding the Mind of the Scots, and the Factions in London, abſolutely refuſed to ſign them, which denial was ſharply debated in the Houſe, and it was affirmed, that the King by his Denial had denied his Protection to the People of England, for which only Subjection is due to him: So Jan. 17. a Declaration and Votes paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, *That they will make no further Addreſs to the King, nor any other are to make Applications to him, without*

without their Order, under Penalty of High Treason: That they will receive no more Messages from him, to both or either Houses of Parliament, or any other Person. This was seconded by a Declaration of the General and Officers of the Army, which was presented to the House, and Thanks returned them for their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament in their Proceedings concerning the King; and against him or any other that shall partake with him.

The Parliament likewise by their Declaration, endeavoured to appease the Minds of the People, many being extreamly discontented with these Proceedings, and Tumults and Insurrections daily feared, so that the Parliament, though Victorious and guarded with a conquering Army, no Forces visibly appearing against them, yet were never in more Danger, and every Man began to foresee Slaughter and War, as Mariners observe a rising Tempest.

The threatning Waves in Tracts voluminous
Boil up: The Seas by blasts uncertain blown,
Betoken many Winds Conception.

The King's party, though conquered, had great Hopes of retrieving their Cause, which seemed also the Wish of many called Presbiterians out of their strong Aversion to the Independents; so that the K. though set aside and confined within the Isle of Wight, was more formidable this Summer than before, when he was followed by his strongest Armies. The Name of a King had a mighty Operation, and the Pity of the Vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his Person: Prince Charles also by his Absence, and the Name of Banishment, was more desired of them, and by his Commissioners, privately sent from his Father, and Commands under his Name, he was able to raise not only Tumults but Wars.

The Parliament for their Security, quartered part of the Army about Westminster, the Meuse, and other Places of the City, and some Lords and Commons were chosen, and called a Committee of Safety,

Safety, and ſet at Derby Houſe, with Power to ſuppreſs Tumults and Inſurrections, and to raiſe Forces upon Occaſion; which were the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, and Mancheſter, the Lords Say, Wharton, and Roberts, and 13 of the Houſe of Commons, among whom was L. Gen. Cromwel. And it was not long e'er they had Occaſion to make uſe of their Authority; for upon Sunday, April 9, 1648. ſome Apprentices and other looſe People playing in Moorfields, ſet upon a Company of Trained Bands, and with Stones beat the Captain out of the Field, taking away his Colours, with which they marched in the Head of a diſorderly Rout, increaſing continually by the way to Weſtminſter, crying out, They were for K. Charles; but by a Troop of Horſe from the Meuſe were ſoon diſperſed; yet running back into the City, and others joining them, they remained all Night in a Body, to the great Terror of the Citizens; ſo that the Lord Mayor who was for the Parliament, eſcaped privately out of his Houſe and went to the Tower. In the Morning Fairfax ſent Part of his Army into the City, who drove them into Leaden-Hall, taking ſome Priſoners, and ſcattered the reſt; ſo this Tumult was ſuppreſſed, for which Service he had the Thanks of the Parliament, and ſome principal Citizens, and 1000 *l.* Gratuity to his Soldiers.

May 26, about 300 came out of Surry to Weſtminſter, with a Petition to the Parliament, demanding, *That the King ſhould be reſtored to his former Dignity, and come to Weſtminſter with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, to treat Perſonally there about all Controverſies: That the Army ſhould preſently be disbanded, and the free People be governed by their known Laws and Statutes.* Theſe Petitioners were ſo earneſt for an Anſwer, that they would not ſtay till the Parliament could debate it, but ſet upon the Soldiers that guarded the Houſe; of whom, ſome

ſome they hurt, and killed one. Whereupon ſome Horſe and Foot were ſent from the Meuſe, who gave them a feeling Anſwer, killing ſome, and ſcattering the reſt, ſo that they were utterly vanquiſhed. At the ſame time, the Kentiſh Men were coming with a Petition, and a formidable Army to back it, being inraged at the Death of their Companions, who raiſed a Tumult at Canterbury; to prevent their Arrival, Gen. Fairfax was ſent with ſeven Regiments to Black Heath.

In the mean time ſome ſmall Inſurrections happened in Suffolk, at Stamford, and in Cornwal, but were ſuppreſſed by Col. Wait, Sir Hardreſs Waller, and others. Sir Thomas Glemham had ſeized upon Carliſle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale upon Berwick, and fortified it, and the Royaliſts had taken the ſtrong Caſtle of Pomfret. To manage theſe Wars in the North, Col. Lambert was left with ſome Regiments of Fairfax's Army; but the moſt formidable Danger ſeemed to be in Wales, where Poyer, Powel, and Langhorn, 3 Parliament Colonels, had raiſed an Army of 8000 Men, by a Commiſſion from P. Charles; but Col. Horton with 3000 ingaged them near Pethertton, and totally routed their whole Army. A great Slaughter was made, and 3000 taken Priſoners, equal to the number of the Victors; among whom were 150 Officers, alſo many Colours, a great Quantity of Arms, with all their Cannon, Langhorn and Powel eſcaped with Poyer into Pembrook Caſtle. Cromwel himſelf was about the beginning of May ſent into Wales with ſome Regiments, who coming to Chepſtow Caſtle, reſolved to beſiege it, but haſtning to Pembrook, he left Col. Ewer at Chepſtow, who in fifteen Days took the Caſtle and killed Kemiſh, to whom the Governor, had treacherouſly ſurrendered it.

May 20. Cromwel came to Pembrook, of which Col. Poyer was Commander, who relying on the great

great Strength of the Place, refuſed all Conditions, being ſenſible that time was very precious with the Parliament, who were ſurrounded with ſo many Difficulties at once; but Cromwel, to whom Deſpair was a Stranger, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his Work from Sea, by the Induſtry of Sir G. Ayſcough, who furniſhed him, by the Aſſiſtance of a Squadron of Ships, with great Guns and Proviſions of all Sorts from Briſtol. Having taken a Survey of the Strength of the Caſtle, he reſolves to batter it with his Cannon, becauſe he had notice their Powder and Proviſions would ſoon be ſpent, and that the Diviſions among them might occaſion them to yield, and ſave his Men, of whom he was very careful, ſince ſo much Work lay upon their Hands; ſo he ſtrictly guarded the Trenches to prevent them from coming out, which had the Effect he expected; Hunger, if not breaking through Stone Walls, yet occaſioned them to deliver up the Town and Caſtle, the Soldiers upon Quarters, but Langhorn, Poyer, Powel, and ſome others upon Mercy; which the reſt found, but Poyer was ſhot to Death.

While Cromwel was acting in Wales, Fairfax with his Regiment marched from Black-Heath toward Rocheſter, and about Graveſend a great number were got together, and among them 20 Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of the County, with ſeveral of the King's old Commanders; but they durſt not engage Fairfax, though more numerous, ſome marching to Maidſtone, a few to Rocheſter, others to Dover, to beſiege that Caſtle, but were ſoon removed by Col. Rich and Sir Mich. Liveſey. About 2000 were got to Maidſton, and reſolved to defend it, which they did with ſuch Obſtinacy, that the Valour of Fairfax and his Soldiers, was never try'd ſo much before, nor a Victory got with greater Danger; for after they had broke into the

Town

Town with much Difficulty, they found a War in every Street, and Cannon planted againſt them, ſo that they were forced to fight for every Corner of it, but at length with the Loſs of 40 Men it was taken, 240 of the Royaliſts being ſlain, and 400 Horſe and 2000 Arms taken: At the ſame time another Army of many thouſand Kentiſh Men, coming from Rocheſter to aid their Friends, when they came near, durſt not aſſiſt them, but ſtood and ſaw Fairfax take the Town. Kent ſeemed now quiet, when the Lord Goring, with the remains of the Kentiſh Men, being about 2000, march as far as Greenwich, ſending to ſee how the Citzens ſtood affected, but while he ſtayed expecting an Anſwer, ſome Troops of the Army came in Sight; upon which Goring and his Company fled, the Horſemen took ſome Booty, and the Kentiſh Men went home, but the Lord Goring with 500 Horſe coming to Greenwich got Boats and paſſed over into Eſſex, and the L. Capel with Forces out of Hartfordſhire, and Sir Ch. Lucas, with a Body of Horſe, joined him at Chelmsford, with ſeveral of the King's Soldiers, and many Londoners who flocked to them, the Gentlemen followed them croſſing the Thames at Graveſend, and at length drove them into Colcheſter, where after near 3 Months Siege, being reduced to that Extremity as to live ſeveral Weeks upon Horſe-Fleſh, deſpairing of Relief, they at length yielded themſelves Priſoners, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle being ſhot to Death.

At this time Cromwel marches Northward, to prevent the Danger from Scotland, from whence D. Hamilton was marching with a potent Army. Lambert was ſent before to ſuppreſs Glemham and Langdale, who, with their Forces being about 3000 retired into Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, and joining with the Scots, fell upon Lambert at Appleby, forcing him to retire out of the Town. Cromwel having received all neceſſary Supplies from

from the Parliament, came and joined him, and obſerved the Motions of D. Hamilton, being both but 8600 Men, againſt the Scots and Engliſh Army of 21000, who were marched into England as far as Preſton in Lancaſhire, where Cromwel reſolved to fight them, his Forlorn ingaging them firſt with 200 Horſe and 400 Foot, and he himſelf leading up the main Body in the beſt Poſture the Place would admit, being a dirty Lane, and inconvenient for Horſe, where after four Hours diſpute he put them to the Rout, whom the Conquerors purſued through Preſton, and having cleared the Streets, followed them as far as Warrington, about 20 Miles, killing many in the Chaſe, and taking Lieut. Gen. Baily Priſoner, with great Part of the Scots Army, granting them only Quarter for their Lives. Three thouſand Scots were ſlain, and 10000 taken Priſoners, with above 100 Colours and all their Baggage. Duke Hamilton finding the Service too warm, rêtreats over the Bridge with a good Party of Horſe and Foot, but Cromwel ordered his Men to fall in among them Pell-mell, with their Swords drawn, at which deſparate Courage the Scots being amazed, betook themſelves to flight, and the Duke with a Body of Horſe got to Utoxeter, where he was taken Priſoner by the L. Grey, and 3000 Horſe with him; Langdale was alſo taken by a Parliament Captain.

Conſpiracies by Land, though over the whole Kingdom, ſeemed not enough, but the Sea likewiſe, revolted from the Parliament; divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Navy, in June 1648. ſet the Vice-Admiral Rainsborough a ſhore, declaring they would ſerve the King and Pr. Charles, now coming from Holland with 20 Sail of Ships, and two thouſand Men. The Parliaments Vice-Admiral joined with them, the Duke of York, who had made his eſcape from London, being alſo Aboard. At which the Parliament being diſturbed

ſturbed ſent to the E. of Warwick to command the remaining Navy, which he readily undertook; but his Brother, tho' no Soldier, by Commiſſion from the Prince, aſſembles 500 Horſe and Foot about Kingſton Heath, depending upon the Affections of the Citizens, having with him the D. of Buckingham, his Brother, L. Francis Villiers and the Earl of Peterborough, but Sir Mich. Liveſey, and others, ſoon diſperſed them. The L. Francis Villiers was ſlain, and the L. Holland flying with the remainder of the Horſe to St. Needs, was ſubdued; Dalbeer, and ſome other Gentlemen ſlain, and himſelf taken Priſoner. At the ſame time Roſſiter obtained a Victory over 1000 Horſe, who were pillaging the Country out of Promfret Caſtle.

In Auguſt 1648. Warwick was with a good Fleet in the River of Thames, when P. Charles with 20 ſtout Men of War came up the River, commanded him to take down his Flag, and yield Obedience to him as chief Admiral by the King's Commiſſion. Warwick refuſed, yet declined fighting in that narrow Channel, expecting to be joined by the Portſmouth Fleet, commanded by Sir G. Ayſcough, which the Royaliſts reported was revolted alſo; but though moſt of the Mariners were inclined to the Prince, yet Sir George by his prudent Managery confirmed them in their Obedience to the Parliament, and ſailing by P. Charles in the Night, brought all his Ships ſafe to the Earl of Warwick, who now reſolved to ingage the Prince, but finding he was gone back to Holland for want of Proviſions, he followed him with the whole Fleet to Goree upon the Coaſt.

Cromwel, after he had given that great Defeat to Hamilton, following his Victory, marches toward Scotland to aſſiſt Argile and Levens, againſt the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick, and to give them an Account what was become of Hamilton; but

but upon his Approach, they withdrew their Forces back into Scotland, and Cromwel in his way reduced Berwick and Carliſle. Before he entred Scotland, he rendevouz'd his Army on the Banks of the Tweed, and cauſed Proclamation to be made at the Head of every Regiment, That no Man upon pain of Death, ſhould take from the Scots either Cattle or Goods, without Order. He then marches directly toward Edenburgh, to conſult about the Affairs of both Kingdoms; many of the Scots Nobility and Gentry were ſent from the Committee of Eſtates to meet him, who after congratulatory Orations, conducted him to Edenburgh, where Argile, Levens, and other Lords, treated him and the reſt of the Engliſh Commanders, with a magnificent Banquet in the Caſtle. Thanks were given by the Miniſters to Cromwel, which was by them ſtiled, The Preſerver of Scotland under God; many of theſe having denounced the Wrath of God againſt the Army of Hamilton, which by the Succeſs they now thought fulfilled. Such alſo was the Teſtimony of the Committee of Eſtates, written to the Engliſh Parliament concerning Cromwel. Preſently after the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick were disbanded, and all others, except 1500 Horſe and Foot under the command of Levens, for ſetling the Kingdom. It was alſo decreed by the Committee of Eſtates, and Aſſembly of the Kirk, for preſervation of Religion, and brotherly Love of the Engliſh Nation, *That no Man who had joined with Hamilton in the late Invaſion of England, ſhould be choſen for the new Parliament which was then called, or in the Aſſembly of the Kirk, as being Enemies to Religion, and both the Kingdoms.*

A ſtrange and ſudden Alteration this was, that the Engliſh Army, which but a Year before were by the Kirk Party of Scotland, called a Bundle of Sectaries, and reviled by all manner of opprobrious

probrious Names, ſhould be acknowledged by the ſame Scots to be the Inſtruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland. And this great change in the Council of Scotland, had been more to be wondered at, if the change that then happened in the Engliſh Parliament were not much more ſurprizing for who can imagine that Cromwel for vanquiſhing a Scotch Army, by which the Nation was delivered from Plunder, and many other Miſchiefs, ſhould be acknowledged there for the Preſerver of Scotland; and that the ſame Victory of his againſt the Scots, ſhould pleaſe the Presbyterian Scots for Religion ſake, and for Religion ſake diſpleaſe the Presbyterians in England. For the Face of the Engliſh Parliament was now ſuddenly changed, and the Votes that had paſſed the Year before of making no more Addreſſes to the King were annulled, and they had publiſhed a Declaration of the Reaſon of their Proceedings. New Addreſſes were made to the King, with more ſubmiſſion than ever before, the eleven impeached Members were reſtored to their Seats, and the Houſes debated of treating with the King upon his own Security, perſonally at London, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety. But this was not carried; only a Treaty was Voted to be in the Iſle of Wight, and that the King ſhould chuſe the Place in that Iſland. In purſuance whereof, the E. of Middleſex and 2 of the the Houſe of Commons, were ſent to the King, who anſwered; That he was very ready to treat of Peace: Upon which five Peers and ten Commoners were choſen and ſent to Newport. During this Treaty, the King found all kind of Reſpect and Obſervance from the Commiſſioners; being attended with a Royal Retinue, the Duke of Richmond, Marquiſs of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton and Lindſey, with a number of other Gentlemen of Quality waiting in his Train; his own

two

two Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to adviſe him in the Treaty, being likewiſe allowed him.

While theſe Things were tranſacting at Weſtminſter, Cromwel having finiſhed Matters in Scotland, Oct. 16. 1648. left Edenburgh, being conducted ſome Miles by Marq. Argile, and other Scotch Noblemen, who took their Leaves with mutual Demonſtrations of Kindneſs, and marching toward Carliſle, when he came into Yorkſhire, he was deſired by the Committee to reduce the Caſtles of Scarborough and Pomfret in his way; the laſt of which was defended by Col. John Maurice, not by the Strength of the Place, but the Valour of the Defendants: The Garriſon conſiſted of 400 Foot, and 130 Horſe, all daring Fellows, who daily performed ſome notable Exploit by their Sallies, as one Time by ſiezing Sir Arthur Ingram with a Troop of Horſe, and obliging him to pay 1500 *l.* to obtain his Liberty. Soon after they took Capt. Clayton, and moſt of his Troop, and brought into the Caſtle 200 Head of Cattle, and many Horſes, though Sir Henry Cholmly at that time beleagured it to keep him in. One Morning before Day, 40 Horſe ſallied out, and ſpeeding to Doncaſter, where Col. Rainsborough, who had a Commiſſion to command in the Siege in chief, then Quartered; three of them went into the Town, and inquiring for Col. Rainsborough's Quarters, to which being directed, they pretended to deliver him Letters from Cromwel, the Colonel little ſuſpecting the Buſineſs, opens the Door to receive the Letters, when one of them inſtantly ſtabbed him to the Heart, and though his Forces guarded the Town, yet they got back into the Caſtle at Midnight. To reduce this Place, Cromwel having ſettled the Northern Countries, orders the Siege to be ſtreightned, leaving a ſtrong Party under Lambert to prevent their

their ranging abroad, and in a while it was surrendered.

Cromwel marches up to London and takes his place in Parliament, who in his Absence had recalled their Vote of Non-Address, and were treating with the King at Newport: But while this Treaty proceeded, and some Months were spent in Debates, Concessions, and Denials, another sudden Alteration happened, which threw the King from the heighth of Honour to the lowest Condition. For some fearing they might be in Danger if the King were restored to his Throne, contrived to take him away quite, while others were as ready for re-advancing him; so that Things were brought to no Issue before Cromwel's return, who had now the Thanks of the House given him by the Speaker, for his prudent Conduct of Affairs in Scotland. At the same time several Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to Gen. Fairfax, that whoever had offended against the Common-wealth, no Persons excepted, might be brought to speedy Justice; that the same Fault may have the same Punishment in the Person of King or Lord, as in the Person of the poorest Commoner: That such as Speak or Act on the King's behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent Blood, be proceeded against as Traytors, &c.

The first Petition of this Kind was presented to the Parliament Sept. 11. the Title was, *To the most Honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, The humble Petition of many thousands of well affected Men in the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Burough of Southwark, and the neighbouring Villages Inhabitants.* This Petition which broke the Ice, was in a Month followed by several others, from divers Counties in England, and from several Regiments of the Army, at Oxford and Leicester, from many Commanders in the Army, from Ireton's and Ingolsby's Regiment; the Design of all being the same,

That

That Juſtice might be done on the chief Authors of ſo much Bloodſhed in England, and that thoſe who had been Raiſers of this ſecond War, and were now in the Parliaments Cuſtody, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Goring, and the reſt, might be puniſhed, and eſpecially the King himſelf, &c. Theſe Petitions were daily preſented to the Parliament during the Treaty, and by them laid aſide; but at laſt their Deſires prevailed, eſpecially after the Remonſtrance of Fairfax, Cromwel and the general Council of Officers at St. Albans, of Nov. 11. 1648.

At the ſame time, Cromwel ſent Col. Ewer to the Iſle of Wight, to take the King out of the Cuſtody of Col. Hammond at Newport, and to confine him to Hurſt Caſtle till further Order, and this without conſent of the Parliament; and thus the Treaty was violently broken off, though the Houſe of Lords Voted, That the King's Conceſſions were a ſufficient Ground of Peace, and the major Part of the Commons did the ſame. But Cromwel and the Army being now come to London, reſolve to hinder the ſame, and diſcharge the Trained Bands from guarding the Parliament, Col. Pride's and Rich's Regiments, ſupplying their Rooms, by whom above 40 Members of the Houſe of COMMONS, as they were coming to the Houſe, were ſiezed and made Priſoners. Nay further they accuſe Major General Brown, and above ninety Members for inviting the SCOTS into England the laſt Summer, and therefore deſired that they might be excluded the Houſe, which being done, and the Houſe new modelled, they voted, *That no Meſſenger be received from the King upon Pain of High Treaſon: That Fairfax and the Army take care of the KING, and that the Council of War draw up a charge againſt him.* Dec. 13. 1648. The King was brought from Hurſt Caſtle to Windſor, and the Houſe of Commons declare the Oaths of Supreamacy and Allegiance to be void, and that

it

it is Treaſon for the King to levy War with the Common-wealth. But the Lords deny that the K. can commit any Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth, and reject the Ordinance for his Trial by a new Tribunal, which they had erected to conſiſt of 150 Commiſſioners, ſix whereof were of the Lords Houſe, the reſt Officers of the Army, and ſome few Citizens. And the Commons further declare, *That the People under God, are the Original of all juſt Power, and that the Commons of England being the Peoples Repreſentative, have the ſupream Authority, and that what they enact have the Force of a Law, though the Houſe of Lords do not conſent thereto.* Upon theſe and ſeveral other new political Principles, they proceeded to Try, Judge, Condemn, and Execute the King before his own Palace Gate at Whitehall, Jan. 30. 1648.

But

But having already publiſhed a Book, called, *The Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, wherein is an exact Account of the King's Tryal, with the Reaſons he would have offered againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of their Court of Juſtice, and his laſt Speech at the time of his Suffering, I ſhall refer the Reader to that, and wholly omit it here.

This fatal Blow being given, the remainder of the Houſe of Commons and the Army made it evident, that they were not only for cutting off the King, but Kingſhip it ſelf, and thereupon the Houſe Voted, *That Kingly Government is unneceſſary, burdenſome and dangerous, and that whereas ſeveral Pretences might be made to the Crown, that any Perſon who ſhould proclaim Charles Stewart, Son of the late King, or any other, King of England, ſhould ſuffer as in caſe of High Treaſon.* And ſoon after the Houſe of Lords was likewiſe Voted uſeleſs and dangerous; at which the Lords were ſo highly incenſed, that a Declaration was publiſhed in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of England, againſt the Proceedings of the Commons. And in defence of all Votes, Acts, and Orders to the contrary, Charles the Second was proclaimed King in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Kingdom; But they ſtill proceeded, aſſuming new Enſigns of Soveraignty, and cancelling the old, cauſing all new Writs, Commiſſions, &c. to iſſue out under a new Stile and Title, that is, The Keepers of the Liberties of England by the Authority of Parliament, cauſing the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one made with this Inſcription, *In the firſt Year of Freedom, by God's Bleſſing reſtored.* And ſoon after they pulled down the King's Arms in all Places, and his Statue at Guild-Hall, and the Royal Exchange. A Council of State was conſtituted of Forty, and Bradſhaw made Preſident, and the Council of Adjutators of the Army, who had

been so instrumental in the late Revolutions, was now dissolved, who soon after petitioned the Lord Fairfax; but those that subscribed it were by a Council of War ordered to ride with their Faces toward their Horses Tails before their Regiments, with their Crimes on their Breasts, to have their Swords broken over their Heads, and to be cashiered the Army; which provoked their fellow Soldiers, so that a while after the Army rendezvouzing at Ware, several Regiments, in pursuance of their former Petitions (wherein they complain of erecting illegal Courts of Justice, and Trying the Free People of England by Martial Law, with divers other Grievances) wore white Colours in their Hats to distinguish themselves, among whom was Cromwel's own Regiment of Horse, who having notice of it, ordered two other Regiments from remote Quarters to be there who knew nothing of the Intrigue, and being all drawn up in Battalia, Cromwel with a frowning Countenance rides round, and suddenly Commands these two Regiments to surround a Regiment of Foot, and then calls four Men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own Hands puts them in Custody of the Marshal, instantly summoning a Council, of War while their Adherents secretly put their white Colours in their Pockets, and were astonish'd at the Action: These four were tried and found Guilty, but had the Favour to cast Lots for their Lives, whereby the two principal Mutineers escaped, and the two ignorant Fellows were shot to Death upon the place, in the view of the whole Army. These now had the Name of Levellers given them, and one Lockier for promoting a Paper, called, *The Ingagement and Agreement of the People, &c.* was shot to Death in St. Paul's Church-yard, and his Funeral was attended by above 1000 of the Lilburnian Faction, all wearing black and Sea-green Ribbons. The Army was now in a violent Ferment,

Ferment, and even ready to deſtroy one another, which Humour was cheriſhed by John Lilburn, not without Encouragement from the Royal Party, who from their Diviſions hoped to reap Advantage.

In purſuance hereof, Coll. Scroop's Regiment of Horſe diſmiſſed their Officers at Salisbury, and with Colours flying marched to join Harriſon's, Ireton's, and Skippon's Regiments, who by the Contrivance of the Agitators, were all engaged in the ſame Deſigns. This Defection ſeemed of dangerous Conſequence, Gen. Fairfax and Cromwel with his own Regiment marched to Alton, and had Advice the Mutineers were gone to Abington, after whom Cromwel made ſuch haſte, that in one Day he marched forty Miles, and having met with them, he politickly propoſed a Treaty before Harriſon's Regiment ſhould join them, wherein all Parties ſhould receive Satisfaction, and that either of them ſhould keep at ten Miles diſtance; upon which the Levellers went to Burford, and being oppoſed by the Soldiery at New-bridge, to prevent Quarrels they went a little lower, not doubting but they ſhould all join upon Treaty, and ſo put moſt of their Horſes to Graſs, being in all 900, conſiſting of twelve of the beſt Troops in the Army, and leaving a Guard of 60 Men; ſome of their Companions, who were brought over to Cromwel, giving Intelligence of their Poſture, Col. Reynolds about Midnight ruſh'd into their Quarters, they little expecting ſuch rough Treatment; and ſeizing the Guards, took the reſt either aſleep or drinking, with 900 Horſe and 400 Priſoners, whereof Thompſon and two more were executed, Cornet Den declaring ſuch Sorrow that he was reprieved at the Place of Execution, which their Fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were told, That every tenth Man of them ſhould dye, but Cromwel propoſed the pardoning them, which

was agreed to, and they ſent to their own Homes. This proved the utter ſuppreſſion of this Faction, and rendered the Army wholly devoted to Cromwel.

About this time another illegal High Court of Juſtice was erected, wherein D. Hamilton, the E. of Holland, L. Capel, and L. Goring, were brought to their Tryals, the three firſt were condemned and beheaded at the Palace-yard in Weſtminſter, and a Proclamation was publiſhed, declaring the People of England to be a Free State; Alderman Reynoldſon was commanded to declare it in the City; which he refuſing, was committed to the Tower, and a new Lord Mayor choſen by a common Hall; who attended with ſeveral other Aldermen of the ſame Temper, readily proclaimed the Edicts of this new Republick in ſeveral Places in the City.

England being thus ſubjected to the Power of the Houſe of Commons and the Army, and Scotland not yet ripe for Invaſion, and the Nation full of Soldiers, who having long led a Military Life, could hardly be reduced to their former Imployments: Our new Statſemen, to prevent ill Humours, reſolved to make them ſerve their Country in the Reduction of Ireland; all that Kingdom, except Dublin and London-derry, being in Poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and they unable to hold out without ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from England. This Rebellion, the moſt barbarous and bloody that ever happened, acted by Devils in humane Shape, rather than Men, butchering 200000 Proteſtants in 8 Weeks ſpace, without the leaſt Provocation given, or without ſparing Age or Sex, was perpetrated Oct. 23. 1641. and though contrived ſo ſecretly and acted ſo furiouſly, yet was Dublin wonderfully preſerved to be a Refuge to thoſe poor Proteſtants who eſcaped the Rage of their bloody Perſecutors. Many of them fled to England, but found little Relief; for here all Things ſeemed to forebod

forebode the re-acting the ſame Tragedy, yet in the midſt of the Differences between the King and Parliament, it was agreed to ſend ſome Regiments thither, if poſſible, to hinder the Progreſs of thoſe Aſſaſſines: But this Relief was ſo ſmall that it had no effect, for the King finding the Parliament prevail againſt him, recalled thoſe Troops from Ireland, many of the Rebels coming along with them to his Aſſiſtance; ſo that this Kingdom lay more expoſed to theſe bloody Wolves than ever, and thus they continued for ſome Years.

But this new State having renounced Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, reſolve now to recover Ireland, and ſend an Army thither. The Marquiſs of Ormond, was made L. Lieutenant by the late King, and the Rebels had made a Confederacy among themſelves, and upon Condition to have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and other ample Privileges, which the Neceſſity of Affairs obliged him to yield to, they joined their Forces to his, being alſo aſſiſted by a number of others, raiſed by the Earls of Caſtlehaven, Clanrickard, and the Lord Inchequin, ſo that they were the greateſt united Strength in that Kingdom. But the Confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to beſiege Dublin, which he was not able to defend, rather than it ſhould fall into the Hands of the Iriſh Papiſts, he ſurrendered it to Col. Jones for the Parliament, and came over to the King (who was then carried from one Place to another by the Army) and from thence he went over to P. Charles then at Paris. The Confederates ſurprized at the great Preparations from England, ſent Letters to the Prince, to ſend back the Marquiſs of Ormond, with an abſolute Promiſe to the King to obey his Lieutenant. At their Requeſt he returned into Ireland, about a Year before Cromwel came over, and with their united Forces they had reduced the whole Country, ex-

cept Londonderry, commanded by Sir Ch. Coot, and Dublin the principal City, wherein was Col. Jones with no great Strength, and who was jealous of the Fidelity of his own Men that often deſerted to the other Party.

The Iriſh Confederates with 22000 Men, lay under the very Walls of Dublin, and ſent divers threatning Summons requiring a ſpeedy Surrender, but they had no effect upon the valiant Governor Jones; who yet not inſenſible of his great Danger, ſent many earneſt Meſſages to the Parliament of England to aid him with all ſpeed, with Men and Ammunition, or elſe all would be loſt; who knowing the Difficulties of his Condition, haſten their Aſſiſtance, ſending thither Ireton's, Scroop's, Horton's and Lambert's Regiments of Horſe; with Hewſon's, Dean's, Ewer's, and Cook's Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old tried Soldiers that feared no Enemy, and led by victorious Commanders; with ſome other Regiments new liſted, ſufficient to effect the Buſineſs. Nothing was now wanting but a General to command this gallant Army, and the Parliament being ſenſible of Cromwel's Conduct, deſired him to accept of it; which he readily did, declaring, *That he did not doubt but God would uſe him as an Inſtrument to execute his Vengeance upon the bloody Iriſh.* With which Anſwer the Parliament were ſo pleaſed, that they gave him a Commiſſion to be General of all their Forces, and Lord Governor both of the Civil and Military Affairs in Ireland, and Col. Jones was made Lieut.-Gen. of the Horſe. After which, they march to Milford in Wales, and July 10. 1649, Cromwel ſet forward from London in a Coach and ſix Horſes, attended with many of the Houſe of Commons, Council of State, and principal Officers of the Army, with a Life-guard of 80 who had been lately Commanders, gallantly accoutred. In this State he marched to Brainford, where theſe Gen-

Gentlemen took their Leaves, wiſhing him happy Succeſs. From thence he rides Poſt to Briſtol, to put his Men and Artillery into the Tranſport-Ships, and then goes into Wales, having ſent Reynold's Regiment of Horſe, and Venable's and Monk's Regiments of Foot before from Cheſter, who arrived at Dublin, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, being about 3000 in all, who were careful to recover them from the Fatigues of the Sea, in hopes by their means to recover their Liberties.

And in this they were not miſtaken, for Col. Jones much animated with theſe Recruits, reſolved to attack the Beſiegers, and Aug. 2. when the Iriſh, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, marched with much Aſſurance to Baggot Field, Eaſtward from the City toward the Sea, from thence to run their Trenches toward the Works of the City, to prevent the landing any more Supplies from England. The Beſieged to prevent them, with 1200 Horſe, and 4000 Foot, fell upon the Enemies new Works, and routed their Horſe at the firſt Encounter, moſt of the Foot being alſo either killed or wounded, conſting of 1500, which ſo encouraged the Engliſh that they purſued their Victory to Rathmines, where the Marquiſs of Ormond with his whole Army of 19000 Men were incamped, who hearing of it, wiſhed they would come, that he might have ſome Sport with them; he ſoon had his Wiſh, but the Sport was ſomewhat rude, for in a ſhort time his Army was utterly routed, 4000 being ſlain upon the Spot and in the Purſuit, and 2517 Priſoners taken, moſt Perſons of Quality, with the Marquiſs's own Brother, all their Cannon and Ammunition, with a wealthy Camp, became the Reward of the conquering Soldiers, who made themſelves Gentlemen with the Spoils of the Vanquiſhed; not above 20 of the Engliſh being ſlain in this great Action. The Marquiſs perceiving all was loſt, fled with a

conſiderable Party to Kilkenny, and thence to Drogheda, whither Col. Jones with ſome Horſe march'd with all ſpeed, in hopes that the News of this Defeat might cauſe them to ſurrender, but when he he heard that Ormond with three hundred Horſe was come to reinforce it, he went back, while the Marquiſs fortifies Dundalk, Trim, and ſome other Places near Tredagh; hoping to preſerve them by the Strength of his Troops, and to have an Army ready before Cromwel's Arrival: But he having Intelligence of this great Victory, being then at Milford Haven in Wales, inſtantly ſailed thence with the Van of his Army in 32 Tranſport Ships, and Ireton with the main Body in 42 more, Hugh Peters with 20 Sail following them, who all ſoon arrived at Dublin, and were received with all Joy and Satisfaction, eſpecially the new Lord Governor Cromwel, whom the People crowded to behold, who obſerving their Zeal and Kindneſs, putting off his Hat, ſpoke to them to this Effect, *That as God had brought him thither in Safety, ſo he doubted not but by divine Aſſiſtance, to reſtore them to all their juſt Rights, Liberties and Properties, and that all thoſe whoſe Hearts and Affections were real for carrying on that great Work againſt the barbarous and blood-thirſty Iriſh and their Confederates, and that were for propagating the Goſpel of Chriſt, the eſtabliſhing of Truth and Peace, and reſtoring this bleeding Nation to its former Happineſs and Tranquility, ſhould find Favour and Protection from the Parliament of England and himſelf, and receive ſuch Gratuities as were ſuitable to their Merits.* This Speech was received with the Acclamations of the People, many of whom declared, *That they would live and dye with him.*

The Army being all landed and refreſhed, Cromwel publiſhes a Proclamation againſt Swearing, Curſing, and Drunkenneſs, under ſevere Penalties, and having ſettled Matters in Dublin, he muſters his Army,

Army, which then conſiſted of 15000 Horſe and Foot well accoutred, out of whom he made a Detachment of about 10000, with whom and a fine Train of Artillery, he marches to Drogheda, commanded by Sir Arthur Aſhton, formerly Governor of Reading and Oxford, an expert and valiant Soldier, the Garriſon conſiſting in 3000 Horſe and Foot, moſt Engliſh. After ſummoning the Town, which was ſlighted, Cromwel prepares to beſiege it, Sir G. Ayſcough and his Squadron blocking it up by Sea; the white Flag was taken down, the Red, denouncing Blood and Deſtruction, being diſplay'd in its ſtead, which yet did not much diſcourage the Beſieged, who expected Relief from Ormond, & had abſolutely determined to conquer or dye. So Cromwel without making Trenches or Ditches, raiſed a ſtrong Battery of Cannon againſt it, which beat down a Church Steeple, and a Tower, on the South ſide of the Town, and upon throwing two or three hundred Balls more, the corner Tower between the South Eaſt Wall was levelled, and ſuch a Breach made, that three Regiments of Foot entred, it not being large enough for the Horſe; but met with ſuch furious Oppoſition from the Beſieged, that they forced them back faſter than they came on; which Cromwel obſerving from the Battery, he with a freſh ſupply of Col. Ewer's Foot, enters in Perſon into the Town; whoſe Preſence ſo incouraged the Soldiers that nothing was able to ſtand before them, ſo that having ſecured the Town, to revenge their late Repulſe, they cut off all they met with, yet Aſhton's Soldiers deſperately oppoſed them at every corner, and when not able to defend the Streets, retreated to the Church Steeples, and other Securities, but the Aſſailants purſued them with the utmoſt Rage, and with Gun-powder blew up 100 of them, who were got into St. Peter's Steeple, only one eſcaping, who by the Fall broke his Leg, and had Quarter given

him. Others refusing to yield upon Summons, were kept from Victuals till forced to surrender; most of the Officers with every tenth Soldier was put to the Sword, and the rest sent to Barbadoes. Sir Ar. Ashton was slain. Cromwel by these severe Executions designed to terrify other Places from making Opposition, which had such Effect, that in a short time he wholly conquered the Kingdom. And thus was this strong Garrison reduced and plundered in seven Days, which the Irish were 3 Years in taking.

Dundalk and Trim expecting no better Quarter, the Soldiers deserted them with such Precipitation, that they left all their Cannon behind fixed upon their Carriages; and the English revolted so fast to the Conqueror, that Ormond's Forces increased very little, so that he durst not ingage Cromwel, but endeavoured to hinder them from having Provisions. Upon which the General resovled to march Westward, and assault Wexford, putting a Garrison into Killingkerrick near Dublin, which had been deserted by the Enemy; with Arkloe Castle, one of the Seats of the Family of Ormond, and several other Places which surrendered to him; at length he came before Wexford, and summoned it, but the Governor Col. Synnot politickly treated about Terms, till he was reinforced with 500 Foot, under the Earl of Castlehaven, and then seemed to defy any Attack. Cromwel plants a Battery against a Castle at the end of the Town, and had not plaid long upon it, before the Governour surrenders. The Soldiers having Possession, and shewing themselves to the Town, affrighted them from the Walls, which they perceiving, in an instant scaled the Walls without much resistance, and entring the Town, cut off all in Arms, till they came to the Market-place, where the Enemy made a stand, but at length were subdued, and all in Arms put to the Sword.

The

The Sea-port being taken, which was convenient for Supplies, the Victors march to Roſs, another Sea Town, conſiderable for Strength and Trade, on the River Barrow, where a Ship of 7 or 800 Tons might ride by the Wall; the Lords of Ormond, Caſtlehaven, and Ards, were there in Perſon, having brought 1500 Men in Boats to reinforce it in ſight of the Engliſh, who could not prevent it. Cromwel ſummons the Governor M. General Taff to a Rendition, by aſſuring him, *That ſince his coming into Ireland, he ever avoided the Effuſion of Blood, having been before no Place where he did not firſt offer ſuch Terms as might have preſerved them, and he required him to ſurrender the Town to the Parliament of England.* He received no return to the Summons, till a Battery of 6 or 7 great Cannon playing furiouſly on the Town, mollified the Governor, ſo that to prevent the Danger other Places had incurred, he delivered it up, 1500 marching away with Bag and Baggage to Kilkenny, but 600 being Engliſh, joined with Cromwel. At which time Bandon-Bridge, Youghal, Cork, Kinſale, and other Garriſons, declared for the Parliament; and in the North Sir Ch. Coot, and Col. Venables, and L. Broghill, and Col. Hewſon in other Parts, ſucceeded as well.

Cromwel having taken Roſs, by a Bridge of Boats over the River, marched to beſiege Dunganon, a ſtrong Fort, commanded by Col. Wogan, but having little Hope of reducing it quickly, they riſe and march to Kilkenny, where the Marquiſs of Ormond and L. Inchiquen declared they would fight, being much ſtronger than Cromwel, yet upon his Approach retreated without Action. So Eniſteoge and Carrick were taken without loſs of a Man; and the General marches to Waterford (taking Paſſage-Fort by the Way) hoping to reduce it before Winter, but it being December, and very wet, the Soldiers were put into

into Winter Quarters till Spring. During which, the Irish attempted to regain Passage-Fort by a Party from Waterford, but Col. Zankey put them to the rout, killing many, and making 350 Prisoners. At this time Lieut. Gen. Jones dyed of a Fever at Dunganon, and though it were Winter, yet Cromwel visited all the Garrisons in Munster, and received great Recruits from England, many of his Soldiers and Officers dying by Sickness. He put a new Mayor into Kinsale, the former being an Irish Papist. In February, Cromwel marches with 3000 of his Men out of Youghall to inlarge their Quarters, and takes in Kilkenny Castle near Lymerick, with Clogen House and Rogil Castle, and fording the River Tewer with much Danger, comes to Feathered, where one Butler was Governor of the Garrison, and about ten at Night summons him by a Trumpet, which was disregarded at first, but fearing a Storm it was surrendered upon Condition they should march out with their Arms. From hence, after being refresh'd, they march to Callyne, about six Miles off Kilkenny, which had three Castles in the Town, and were stormed and taken one after another, and all in Arms put to the Sword, which so affrighted them that defended a House near the Town, that they desired Liberty to go to Kilkenny, which was granted. The Soldiers well furnished with Provisions here, returned to Feathered, taking the Castles of Knoctover and Bullyward by the way, Kiltermon, Arfermon, Cober, and Drundum, Places of good Strength running the same Fate; so there remained nothing unconquered but Kilkenny, Galloway, Clonmel, Waterford, and Limerick.

These were Places of considerable Strength, but Cromwel resolves to attack Kilkenny first, and having sent for more Forces, came to the Town of Govan, populous and fortified with a strong Castle, but

but the Governor refuſing his Summons, was forced to ſurrender upon hard Terms, the Soldiers to have their Lives, and the Officers to be at Diſcretion: Hammond the Governor, his Major, and all his other Commiſſion Officers were ſhot to Death, and the Popiſh Chaplain hanged. Cromwel next proceeds to Kilkenny, which was full of Officers and Soldiers from other Places, and the Governor Sir Walt. Butler refuſing to ſurrender, the Lord Governor cauſed the Cannon to play, which had not thrown 100 Shot ere a Breach was made, and Col. Ewers with 1000 Foot, tho' at firſt repulſed, gained the Iriſh Town, and the Suburbs on the other ſide the River, which cauſed the Governor to treat, ſince he could not hope for Relief; and the Garriſon in Cautnel Caſtle, to whom he had ſent to aſſiſt him, deſired Paſſes to go beyond Sea; ſo the Capitulation was quickly finiſhed, and that conſiderable City of Kilkenny, which had been the Seat of the ſupream Council, was reduced in ſix Days time.

The Marquiſs of Ormond, and other chief Commanders, obſerving the unſucceſsfulneſs of their Deſigns, conſulted with the Gentlemen of Weſtmeath at Baltemore, how to manage Affairs better; ſome were for Accommodation with the Engliſh, but others doubting whether they might obtain Pardon on good Terms, it was concluded to do the greateſt Miſchief that they could to the Engliſh in their Quarters, until they could have an Opportunity to eſcape out of the Country.

Cromwel after this beſieges Clonmel, a ſtrong Garriſon, wherein were 120 Horſe and Foot: During which Col. Reynolds and Hewſon beſiege Trim, and the L. Broghill defeats the Bp. of Roſs, who with 5000 deſigned to relieve Clonmel, killing 700, taking 20 Officers, and the Biſhop himſelf, with the Standard of the Church of Munſter, and carrying him to a Caſtle defended by the Biſhop's

Forces,

Forces, hanged him before the Walls in their Sight, which ſo terrified them that they ſurenderred. Theſe Succeſſes encouraged the Beſiegers of Clonmel, wherein were many gallant Soldiers and Commanders, and great Unanimity, but Cromwel battering it with his Cannon, opened a Breach, whereat the Soldiers enter, yet were repulſed with the utmoſt Fury, ſo that the Succeſs was doubtful for four Hours, and a great Carnage made, till the Iriſh are forced to betake themſelves to flight, whom the victorious Soldiers purſued with revengeful Minds, and made a dreadful Slaughter. Thus was this conſiderable Place reduced, though with greater loſs than ordinary to the Engliſh, wherein they found the ſtouteſt Enemy they ever met in Ireland.

Cromwel having in ten Months performed more than any Prince before was able to do in ten Years, in ſubduing an obſtinate bloody Enemy that deſpairing of Pardon, fought with the greateſt Animoſity; and there now remaining unreduced only Limerick, Waterford, and ſome few inconſiderable Garriſons, to which Service Ireton was appointed, whom the L. Governor made L. Deputy: He takes his leave of Ireland, and after a ſtormy Paſſage lands at Briſtol, where he was received with Acclamations, and the diſcharging of the Cannon, and haſtens thence to London, being met at Hounſlow by Gen. Fairfax, ſeveral Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, with multitudes of Spectators, who came to ſee him of whom they had heard ſuch great Matters; whereafter mutual Congratulations he proceeds, and is ſaluted near Hyde Park with ſome Field-pieces, and Volleys of ſmall Shot by Col. Barkſtead's Regiment, drawn up in the Highway for that Purpoſe, and after conducted to the Cock-pit near St. James's, prepared for his Reception, where he is viſited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and other

other Perſons of Quality, all expreſſing the Senſe of their Obligations. Soon after he took his Place in Parliament, and received the Thanks of the Houſe from the Speaker, and then gave them a full Account of the preſent Condition of Ireland.

At this time Virginia and the Carribbee Iſlands revolt from the Parliament, and declare for the Monarchy and Liturgy, who thereupon prohibit all Nations to Trade with them, and in a few Months they are wholly ſubdued by a Fleet ſent thither under Sir G. Ayſcough. Pr. Rupert infeſts the Engliſh Coaſts from Scilly, Jerſey, Ireland, and France, with the States revolted Ships, to the great loſs of the Merchants; ſo a Fleet well equipt is ſet forth againſt him, who block him up in Kinſale, which being taken by Cromwel, they were forced to haſten away, leaving three Ships behind, and ſailed to Lisbon, being protected by the King of Portugal, which cauſed a Difference between that King and this Republick. May 3. 1642. Dr. Doriſlaus, who drew up the Charge againſt K. Charles I. being ſent Envoy to the Sates of Holland, was murdered at the Hague by Perſons in Diſguiſe that broke into his Lodgings, and afterward made their eſcape. And Mr. Anthony Aſcham, the Engliſh Agent in Spain, was ſtabbed in his Inn in his way to Madrid, and the Murderers taking Sanctuary in a Church, the K. of Spain by all his Authority could not bring them to Juſtice.

But the greateſt Danger to this new Commonwealth tho' victorious in Ireland, ſeemed to be from Scotland, for K. Charles II. being in the Iſle of Jerſey, and having notice of the great Factions and Differences in that Kingdom between the Covenanters and the Royaliſts, he gives a Commiſſion to the Marquiſs of Montroſs (who in 1645 was ſo ſucceſsful that the whole Kingdom of Scotland may be ſaid to have been won and loſt in one Month)

Month) by which Commiſſion he was to raiſe Forces in Holland, and other Parts, to abate the Power of the Covenanters, ſo that the King might be able to treat with them upon better Terms. He in a ſhort time ſends ſome Forces into the Iſles of Orkney and others under Sir James Montgomery, to the North of Scotland. Theſe the Committee of Eſtates reſolve to oppoſe, tho' raiſed for the King's Service, and ſend Propoſitions to Jerſey, which being granted, they enter into a Treaty to reſtore him to that Kingdom; the Subſtance whereof was, *That he would ſign the ſolemn League and Covenant, and oblige all Perſons to take it: To confirm all Acts of Parliament in the two laſt Seſſions, to have no Negative Voice in their Parliament, and to appoint ſome Place about Holland to treat in.* The King promiſed on the Word of a Prince to perform them, and Breda, a Town in Holland belonging to the Pr. of Orange, was the Place appointed, where the Scots Commiſſioners meet him, and the Treaty in a ſhort time was fully concluded, wherein one Article was, *That the Marquiſs of Montroſs and his Adherents be prohibited Acceſs into that Kingdom.* During this Treaty, Montroſs being commiſſioned by the King, fearing he ſhould have an expreſs Command to deſiſt, and be baniſhed his Country, landed at Orkney, and in the North, with Supplies of Men and Money, againſt whom the Parliament, then ſitting, ſend an Army of 7000 Foot, and 3 Troops of Horſe, who defeat his Forces, being 1200, of whom 200 were ſlain, and the reſt taken, except 100 who eſcaped, Montroſs being three or 4 Days in the open Fields without Meat or Drink, with only one Man, diſcovered himſelf to the L. Aſton; but the promiſed Reward, or Fear of concealing him, cauſed this Lord to ſend him to Edenburgh, where he was condemned and hanged upon a Gallows thirty Foot high, and Sir John Urrey, Sir Fr. Hay, Col. Sybald, and Col. Spotſwood were

beheaded

beheaded, the laſt confeſſing he was an Actor in the Death of Dr. Doriſlaus. The King was ſtartled at theſe Proceedings, but the Scots Commiſſioners aſſured him they were all deſigned to promote his Intereſt; ſo finding it could not be redreſſed, he was forced to conceal his Reſentments, and the Treaty being finiſhed, the King prepared for his Voyage to Scotland.

The Parliament of England having Intelligence of theſe Proceedings, is was debated whether the War which was inevitable between them, ſhould be Offenſive or Defenſive; at length, being ſenſible what Deſolations they brought along with them when they came in as Friends, and then as Enemies in D. Hamilton's Invaſion, it was concluded to make Scotland the Seat of War, ſo they order the Army to march Northward, but Gen. Fairfax and others being diſſatisfied about the Obligation of the National Covenant between both Kingdoms, which he conceived would not permit us to War on Scotland, deſired to be excuſed, and deliver up his Commiſſion, which was at firſt a little ſtartling; but the Parliament ſoon found another General, of whoſe Valour and Conduct they had large Experience, which was Cromwel, who accepted the Charge, and had a Commiſſion to be General of all the Forces that now were, or hereafter ſhould be raiſed by the Common-wealth of England, and all the Commiſſions formerly granted to Sir Tho. Fairfax were made void.

June 28. 1650. Cromwel with his Army march'd toward Scotland, and was received at York by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great Reſpect: The Report of his coming, ſurprized the Committee of Eſtates, who ſent a Letter to the Parliament, *That they admired the Engliſh ſhould advance toward them, and that many of their Ships were ſeized contrary to the Act of Pacification, which allowed three Months warning, and that the Forces they had raiſed, were*

were only in their own Defence, desiring to know whether those of the English were designed to guard their own Bodies, or to invade Scotland. The Parliament by their Declaration shew the Reasons of their Proceedings, and among others, *That the Scots endeavour to seduce the People of the Common-wealth of England from their Affection and Duty to the Parliament, and to promote the Interest of the late King under pretence of the Covenant, and though they could claim no Authority or Dominion over us, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stewart to be King of England and Ireland, and promised to assist him against the Common-wealth; and had declared against the English Parliament and Army, ranking them with Malignants and Papists.* These with many others, were such intolerable Provocations, and no Satisfaction being to be had but by the Sword, the Parliament resolve to vindicate the Nation's Honour, and to secure it from the like Insolences for the future.

The Army likewise publish a Declaration, wherein *taking Notice of the Practices of some in that Kingdom, who endeavoured by unjust reproaches and false Slanders, to make the Army odious, and render them rather Monsters than Men, they to clear themselves, desire them to remember what their Behaviour was when they were there before, or what Wrong or Injury was then done either to the Persons, Goods, or Houses of any, and therefore they had no Reason by false Reports to affright the People from their Habitations: Further assuring all Persons who were not active against the Parliament, That they should not have the least Injury done them, either in Body or Goods, but upon Complaint should have present Redress, and that they might securely continue in their Habitations.*

Copies of these Declarations were given to the Country People at Berwick Market, and others sent into Scotland which had good Effect. After which Cromwel marches from York to North-Allerton, and thence to Newcastle, where he was nobly

nobly treated by Sir Ar. Haſlerig the Governor, and after imploring the Bleſſing of Heaven, and having provided for future Supplies, he poſts to Berwick, and July 20. 1650. rendezvouz'd his Army upon Hagerſton Moor, 4 Miles from thence, where appeared a gallant Body of 5415 Horſe with valiant Riders, 10249 Foot, with a Train of Artillery conſiſting of 690, in all 16345. After which they were quartered on the Banks of the River Tweed.

In England, John Lilburn about this time was tryed at Guild hall, a Man of a reſtleſs and invincible Spirit, who is charged with publiſhing Books, wherein the Parliament are termed Tyrants, Traytors, conquering Uſurpers, &c. and though it was generally thought they were of his Writing and

Publiſhing, yet he made ſuch a ſubtile Defence, that the Jury brought him in Not Guilty. Col. Euſebius Andrews being found with a Commiſſion from K. Charles II. was condemned by an High-Court of Juſtice, and beheaded at Tower-Hill. And Benſon, condemned with him, was executed at Tyburn. At the ſame time an Inſurrection happened in Norfolk, an undiſciplin'd Company roaving about

about, pretending they deſigned the aboliſhing Popery, the reſtoring the young King to his Crown, to revenge his Father's Death, and to ſuppreſs Hereſy and Schiſm; but 200 Horſe being ſent from Lynn, and three Troops from the Army, ſoon diſperſed them, 20 of whom of no Eminency were hanged. Sir Henry Hyde being ſent Ambaſſador from K. Charles to the Grand Seignior at Conſtantinople, had ſome conteſt with Sir Tho. Bendiſh the Parliament's Ambaſſador there, ſo they had a hearing before the Vizier Baſſa, and the Reſult was, That Sir Tho. Bendiſh ſhould diſpoſe of Sir H. Hyde as he thought fit, who ſent him to Smyrna, and thence to England, where he was condemned and beheaded before the Royal Exchange in London.

Pr. Rupert and his Fleet lying in the Haven of Lisbon, Blake came before the City with the Parliament's Fleet, and having deſtroyed ſeveral French Privateers, and ſome rich Sugar Ships of the King of Portugal's, he was forced by Storm to go to ſome other Port; upon which Pr. Rupert took the Opportunity to ſail thence with his Fleet to Malaga, where they burnt and ſpoil'd ſeveral Mercant Ships: Blake reduced his Fleet to ſeven ſtout nimble Sailers, ſending the reſt home with their Prizes, and ſailed after him to Malaga, but they being gone to Allicant, he followed them, taking in his way a French Ship of 20 Guns, the Roebuck a revolted Ship; and the Black Prince, another of Pr. Rupert's Fleet, to avoid being taken, ran aſhore and blew herſelf up. Next Day 4 more of the Prince's Fleet ran aſhore at Cathagena, and were caſt away, the reſt making their eſcape, and ſo Blake returned again to England.

The Scots had now finiſhed the Treaty with Charles II. who promiſed to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland for 3 Years, provided that himſelf might always have three Chaplains

lains of his own Election; as alſo to confirm the Militia in the Hands of the Eſtates for five Years, provided it ſhould then return to himſelf. It was now reſolved a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to invite him to his Kingdom of Scotland; tho' it was oppoſed in the Parliament at Edenburgh, and put to the Vote whether any more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, and 32 were for the Negative, but the Affirmatives being the major Part, the Meſſage was ſent with a Proteſtation, *That they would aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes, to eſtabliſh him in all his Dominions; yet forbore not to advertiſe him, they had Teſtimonies to produce of his tranſacting by Letters with Montroſs (of which they had intercepted 3 or 4) contrary to his Promiſe at Breda; however they were willing to diſpenſe with him for what was paſſed, if he would according to the Articles of Agreement come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk.*

After which they prepared for his Reception, but prohibited D. Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale and Seaforth, with many other Perſons of Quality, who had conſtantly attended him in Jerſey and Holland, from returning into Scotland. In June, 1650. he left the Hague, and (after a tedious Storm, and narrowly eſcaping ſome Engliſh Ships) landed in the North of Scotland, whither ſome Lords were ſent to receive and accompany him to Edenburgh, being entertained by the way with the Acclamations of the People. At Dundee, new Propoſitions from the Parliament and Kirk were ſent him, which with ſome ſeeming reluctance he ſigned. The Town of Aberdeen preſented him with 1500 pounds, but the Committee of Eſtates ſent to other Places that deſigned to do the like, enjoining them to bring whatever Money and Plate they had to beſtow, into the Treaſury which they would appoint.

While

While they were in expectation of the King's Arrival, the Committee of Estates and Parliament, consulted about forming an Army for his Service, as they pretended, and an Act was passed for training every 4th Man capable to bear Arms throughout the Kingdom, and for raising 16000 Foot and 6000 Horse; the Earl of Leven to be Gen. of the Foot, Holborn Major General, David Lesly Lieut. General of the Horse, and Montgomery Major Gen. the supream Command being reserved for the King; who arriving at Edenburgh, was complemented which many Congratulations, and July 15. proclaimed King at the Cross, and had a strong Guard to attend him and observe his Motions. We left Cromwel and his Army upon the edge of Scotland, who July 22. 1650. drew them forth to a Rendezvouz upon a Hill within Berwick Bounds, from whence they had a very exact View of the bordering Parts of Scotland, where they were to act their Parts; to whom the General made a short Speech, exhorting them to be faithful and couragious, and then they need not doubt of the Blessing of Heaven, and incouragement from himself: Which they received with shouts of Approbation. After which he marches into Scotland, quartering in the Field that Night near the Lord Mordington's House, where Proclamation was made, That none upon Pain of Death, should offer any Violence to the Persons or Goods of any in Scotland not in Arms; and no Soldier should dare to straggle half a Mile from the Army without special Licence. From hence they marched directly to Dunbar, where they received some fresh Provisions from the Ships sent on purpose to supply them, the People having left their Habitations, and nothing behind them. Thence they came to Hadington, 12 Miles from Edenburgh, without opposition or sight of an Enemy; next Day hearing the Scots would meet them at Gladsmeer, they en-

endeavoured to poſſeſs the Moor before them, but no conſiderable Party appeared, ſo M. Gen. Lambert, and Col. Whaley, with 1400 Horſe, were ſent as a Van-guard to Muſcleborough to attempt ſomething upon the Scots, and M. Hains commanding the Forlorn, faced them in leſs than a Mile of their Trenches. Cromwel with the reſidue of the Army drew up before Edenburgh, and ſome Skirmiſhes happened about poſſeſſing King Arthur's Hill, within a Mile of the City, which the Engliſh gained, and likewiſe a Church and other Houſes; but the Scots not enduring the Shock, that Night the Engliſh withdrew, and lay cloſe encamp'd at Muſcleborough, being wearied with conſtant Duty and continual Rain. The Scots were within four Miles, intrenched within a Line which flanked from Edenburgh to Leith, ſo ſtrong that the Engliſh lay ſtill that Day in the Rain without Covert, but were incouraged with hope of a ſudden Engagement. Next Day the Ground being wet and Proviſions ſcarce, the Engliſh reſolve to draw to their Quarters at Muſcleborough; the Scots fell upon their Rear, and put them into Diſorder, but ſome Bodies of Engliſh Horſe coming up, beat them to their Trenches: Lambert in this Encounter was run through the Arm with a Lance, had his Horſe killed under him, was wounded in his Body, taken Priſoner, and reſcued. The Scots had ſeveral killed, ſome of Note, and a Lieut. Col. a Major, and ſome Captains taken Priſoners. After which the Engliſh marched quietly to Muſcleborough that Night, but ſo haraſſed with Dirt and Watching, that they expected the Scots would fall upon them, which they did; for about four next Morning, 15 Troops of Horſe, to the number of 1500, armed with Backs, Breaſts, Head pieces, Piſtols, Swords and Lances, commanded by Straughan, came on with ſuch Reſolution that they beat in the Guards, and diſordered

a Regiment of Horse, but the English being alarm'd, fell upon them with such Courage, that they routed, pursued, and did Execution upon them, till within a quarter of a Mile of Edenburgh, taking and killing 200, with several Officers of Quality; Cromwel to discover his Generosity, released the principal Prisoners, and sent them to Edenburgh in his own Coach, which rectified the Opinions of many, who by Reports was perswaded he were cruel.

The Army having again spent their Provisions, marched for a Supply to Dunbar, where the Parliament Ships constantly attended them with all Necessaries, and then returning to Edenburgh, they understood the Scots were keeping a solemn Thaksgiving for their Deliverance, supposing they were quite gone, and would have come no more, but were much disappointed. The General Assembly sent Cromwel, by David Lesly their General, a Declaration of the state of the Quarrel, which he desired might be published, *That considering there must be just Grounds of stumbling from the King's refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former Carriage, and Resolutions for the future in reference to the Cause of God, the Enemies and Friends thereof, they do therefore declare, That the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant Party, their Quarrel or Interest, but that they will fight upon their former Principles for the Cause of God and their Kingdom, and as they disclaim all the Sin of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further than he shall disclaim his and his Father's Opposition to the Work of God, and the Enemies thereof; and that they would with convenient Speed consider of the Papers sent them by Oliver Cromwel.* To whom the English Gen. returned this Answer, *That the Army continued the same they had profest themselves to the honest People of Scotland, wishing as well to them as to their own Souls, it being no Part of their Business to hinder them in the Worship of God according to their Consciences:*

Conſciences: And that they ſhould be ready to perform what Obligation lay upon them by the Covenant, but that under pretence of the Covenant miſtaken, a King ſhould be taken in by them, and impoſed on the Engliſh, and this called, The Cauſe of God and of the Kingdom, and this done for the Satisfaction of God's People in both Nations, as alledged; together with a diſowning of Malignants, although the Head of them be received, who at this very Inſtant hath a Party fighting in Ireland, and P. Rupert at Sea upon a malignant Account; the French and Iriſh Ships daily making Depredations upon the Engliſh Coaſts, and all by Virtue of his Commiſſions; therefore they cannot believe, that whilſt Malignants were fighting and plotting againſt them on the one ſide, and the Scots declaring for him on the other, it ſhould not be the eſpouſing a Malignant's Intereſt or Quarrel, but a meer fighting on former Grounds and Principles. If the State of the Quarrel be thus, and you reſolve to fight the Army, you will have Opportunity to do that, elſe what means our Abode here: And our Hope is in the Lord.

Having thus ſtated the Cauſe of the War in diſputing with the Pen, they next reſolve to try the Force of Steel, and fight it out; for Auguſt was near done, and little Action performed, ſave the taking of Collington Houſe and Redhall by Storm, and in it the Laird Hamilton, Major Hamilton, and 60 Soldiers, 60 Barrels of Powder, 100 Arms, great ſtore of Meal, Malt, Beer, Wine, and other rich Plunder. The Body of the Engliſh Army removed from Pencland Hills, within a Mile of the whole Army of the Scots, and both marched in ſight of each other, a great Bog between only hindering their Engagement, tho' the Cannon played on both ſides. Cromwel drew forth a Forlorn, leading them on in Perſon, and coming near their Body, one that knew the General, fired at him with a Carbine, but timerouſly, which Cromwel obſerving, called out and told him, *That if he had been one of*

his Soldiers, he would have cashier'd him for firing at such a distance. This Action of his was thought to have more of Courage in it than Discretion: The Scots unwilling to engage, returned to their Quarters. Next Day, Aug. 28. the Cannon from the English Camp played hard upon the Scots, and greatly annoy'd them, all which could not provoke them to fight, but still kept within the Protection of their Bog. The English being in want of Provisions, marched to their old Quarters at Pencland Hills, and from thence with much Difficulty to Muscleborough to recruit, and then drew off their Forces, quitted their Garrisons, and marched to Hadington. The Scots attending their Right Wing, fell into their Quarters with a resolute Party, and were as valiantly repulsed by a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Fairfax.

Sept. 1. The Scots being advantageously drawn up at the West End of the Town, the English drew Eastward into a fair champaigne Ground, fit for both Armies to engage in; but after several Hours expectation of the Scots Approach, finding they would not follow them, but only watched their Advantage, they marched toward Dunbar; the Scots moved apace after them, and at a Pass attempted to fall upon the Reer, which the English perceiving, faced about to fight them. Whereupon the Scots drew off to the Hills, to hinder the English at the Pass at Copperspeith, which they effected, and then boasted they had the English in Essex's Pound, as K. Charles I. had that General at great disadvantage in Cornwal in 1644. This Pass being a Place where ten stout Men may obstruct the Passage of forty, thereby to hinder them from any Relief from Berwick, or perhaps to keep the English from running away; so confident were they of Victory, being lately reinforced with three Regiments, and from the Hills that incompassed this sickly

ſickly Remnant, looked down on them as their ſure Prey. And indeed, the Engliſh were invironed with all manner of apparent Dangers, their Forces were leſſened, their Bodies weakened with Fluxes, walted with Watchings, in want of Drink, always troubled with wet and cold Weather, and much impaired in point of Courage, 2000 at leaſt being diſabled for preſent Service, were ſent to Berwick. On the other Side the Scots were ſtout and hearty, in their own Country, and upon advantagious Ground, and double the Engliſh in Number, they being 6000 Horſe, and 16000 Foot, and the other but 7500 Foot, and 3500 Horſe.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers finding the Army unfit for further Delays, reſolved the next Morning, Sept. 3. to force a Paſſage thro' the Scots Right Wing, or periſh in the Attempt, and being in Battalia by break of Day, they fell unanimouſly upon the Enemy with Horſe and Foot, who to hinder the Engliſh at a Paſs, drew up all the Horſe upon their Right Wing, and valiantly received the Onſet. The Word of the Engliſh was, *The Lord of Hoſts.* That of the Scots, *The Covenant.* The Engliſh preſſed forward vigorouſly, and reſolved to vanquiſh or dye. After one Hours diſpute the Scots were wholly routed, the Horſe fled and left the Foot expoſed to Danger, who were moſt of them ſlain or taken Priſoners, the Purſuit continuing eight Miles from the Field of Battle. Of the Scots were ſlain 3000, and 10000 taken Priſoners (many deſperately wounded) among whom were 10 Colonels, 12 Leiut. Colonels, 9 Majors, 47 Captains, 72 Lieutenants, 80 Enſigns, beſides Cornets and Quarter-maſters, with 200 Colours, 22 Cannon, ſeveral Field-pieces, and 15000 Arms. Thoſe of Quality taken were the L. Libberton and his Son, the L. Cromſtown, Sir J. Lanſdale L. Gen. of the Foot, and divers others; and the Purſe to the Great Seal of Scotland. The Priſoners were ſo

numerous, that it ſeemed as troubleſome to keep as to take them, ſo the General diſcharged near 5000, moſt ſick and wounded, the reſt being about the ſame Number, were conveyed to Berwick by four Troops of Col. Hacker's Horſe. Gen. Leſley eſcaped to Edenburgh, by ten a Clock that Morning the Fight happened, and carried the News of his own Defeat to his Maſters, which ſo daunted them that Edenburgh was deſerted by its Garriſon, and Leith reſolved to receive the Conquerors, becauſe they could not keep them out.

Sept. 7. Four Regiments of Foot marched into Leith, where they found 37 Guns mounted, ſome Shot and Ammunition, with ſtore of Wealth. The ſame Day Cromwel drew the reſt of his Army, both Horſe and Foot, into Edenburgh, without any Loſs ſave the Arm of a Soldier taken off by a Cannon-bullet from the Caſtle. After which the General ſent a Trumpet into the Caſtle, to invite the Miniſters to come and preach in their Churches, which they refuſing, the Engliſh ſupplied their Places. He then cauſed a protection for Markets, and Liberty of Trade in Edenburgh and Leith, to be proclaimed by Drum and Trumpet, and marched thence with his Army to Linlithgow, leaving Col. Overton with his Brigade behind, and came within a Mile of Sterling, from whence Cromwel ſent a Letter to that Garriſon, expreſſing the Army's conſtant Affection and Tenderneſs to the People of Scotland, which tho' hitherto ineffectual, yet being ſo far advanced into their Country, deſired them to conſider of it, and deliver up that Place to the Common-wealth of England. The Trumpeter that carried the Letter was met by a Gentleman on Foot, with a Pike in his Hand, who told him, They would not let him come into the Town, nor receive his Letter. In the Afternoon came a Trumpeter from the Scots, deſiring releaſe of Priſoners; to which Cromwel anſwered, *That they came not thither*

thither to make Merchandize of Men, or Gain to themſelves, but for the Service and Security of the Common-wealth of England. The ſame Day a Storm was deſigned upon Sterling, but it not being thought practicable, the Army marched back to Linlithgow, which they fortified and made a Frontier Garriſon, being in the Heart of the Country; leaving there five Troops of Horſe, and ſix Companies of Foot, Cromwel with the reſt returned to Edenburgh, where the General and Officers kept a Faſt: The Kirk Party alſo appointed a ſolemn Faſt. 1. *To humble themſelves for their too much Confidence in the Arm of Fleſh.* 2. *For the Malignity and Prophaneneſs of their Army.* 3. *For the Plunderings and Wickedneſs of their Army when in England.* 4. *For their not ſufficient purging their Army.* 5 *For their Commiſſioners unlawful and ſurreptitious Manner of proſecuting the Treaty with the King, and their crooked ways in bringing him home.* 6. *For their not ſufficient purging the King's Houſe.* 7. *For their juſt Grounds they have that the King's Repentance was not ſound, nor from the Heart.*

Cromwel now took order for the effectual reducing of the Caſtle of Edenburgh, which the Scots accounted impregnable by Situation, having a Garriſon of 400 Soldiers, and all manner of Ammunition and Proviſions, Col. W. Dundaſs being Governor: But the General, notwithſtanding all ſeeming Difficulties, employed many Scots and Engliſh Miners, who went ſo near the Works of the Caſtle, that they carried off one Scots Colours, 300 Muskets, and other Arms without Loſs, tho' the Scots ſent many great and ſmall Shot among them, ſo that the Fortifications of Leith, and the Mining at Edenburgh, went on proſperouſly. Oct. 2. the Engliſh ſearched the great Church at Edenburgh, where they found one great Iron Gun, 200 new Muskets, 16 Barrels of Powder, 65 Bundles

of Bandileers and Swords, 200 new Halberts, 300 new Pikes, and 2 Load of Match.

How calamitous now was the Condition of Scotland, that when an Enemy was in the very Bowels of their Country there ſhould be ſuch Diviſions among themſelves, even to the deſtroying of each other; for one Party in the North was for the King without the Kirk; thoſe with Middleton kept the Highlands. Another were for the Kirk againſt the King, whoſe Chiefs were Col. Ker, Straughan, and their Adherents in the Weſt. A third Party were for King and Kirk, as David Leſley, Holbourn, and thoſe of Fife; theſe were then at Sterling, and moſt conſiderable, having the Authority of the Committee of Eſtates, and General Aſſembly to countenance them. All theſe had their Swords drawn againſt each other. Things being in his Poſture, Cromwel ſends a Letter both to the Comittee of Eſtates and to Ker and Straughan, declaring, *What amicable Ways they had hitherto uſed to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, which though it ſucceeded not, yet they ſhould ſtill endeavour the ſame; aſſuring them, their Arms were ſtill ſtretched out to imbrace them, when God ſhould incline them to come in, and that they ſought not Domination, nor to enſlave them, or depreſs the Church Government, nor ſought their Goods or Eſtates, but to carry on the Lord's Work; which if they would ſtill be blind, and perſiſt in gain-ſaying and oppoſing, then what further Miſery befel their Nation by Famine or Sword, would lye heavy on them.*

This Letter was ſent by Col. Whaley, who received an Anſwer from Col. Ker, inveighing ſeverely againſt the Proceedings of the Army, and *That no Ceſſation or Treaty was to be made till the Engliſh were gone out of the Kingdom, which they had unjuſtly invaded:* So there being no likelyhood of an Accommodation, Major Brown with a Party of Horſe, took in a ſtrong Place named Dalhoufie, and

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in it 50 Muskets, 50 Pikes, 4 Barrels of Powder, with ſtore of Proviſions, ſuppoſed to be the Magazine of the Moſs Troopers (who killed divers Engliſh ſtragling for Proviſions) ſome of whom were taken at Darlington Caſtle, ſeven Miles from Edenburgh. Soon after Lambert with 2000 Horſe marched toward Dumfreize; Col. Ker being then about Pebles, and Whaley in his march toward the Enemy, took in Dalkeith Caſtle with a threatning Summons, wherein were ſtore of Arms, Cannon, Powder, Match, and Balls, the Wall of it was 13 Foot broad at the Top. Lambert having with difficulty paſſed Hambleton River, next Morning Ker reſolved to ſurprize him, and attempted it with much Courage; but the Engliſh being timely alarmed, ſuddenly ſurrounded moſt of the Scots Horſe, of whom they killed 100, and took 100, beſides 400 Horſe and Furniture deſerted by their Riders, purſuing the reſt to Ayre, Ker himſelf being taken Priſoner in the Flight, with ſeveral other Officers. Col. Straughan, Capt. Griffen, with ſome others of the Weſtern Party, came in to Lambert, who brought them to the Head-Quarters at Edenburgh.

Cromwel obſerving the mining of Edenburgh Caſtle would be tedious, raiſes a Mount upon a riſing Ground whereon to plant a Battery, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Endeavours of the Beſieged, and having mounted 4 Mortar-pieces and 6 battering Cannon upon it, he ſent one Summons more to the Governor, That for preventing further Miſchiefs, he would ſurrender the Place to him upon proper Conditions. The Governor anſwered, That he was intruſted by the Committee of Eſtates of Scotland to keep the Caſtle, and deſired two Days time to acquaint them with his Condition; but this was denied. So the Cannon and Mortars began to play, and the Scots hung out a Flag of Defiance againſt them, but they had not played long

ere they took it in, ſo it was judged ſome great Damage was done by four or five Shells that fell among them, and put out a white Flag on the Top of the Caſtle, and ſent forth a Drummer, the Governor deſiring once again Leave to ſend to the Committee of Eſtates, which being again refuſed, two Commiſſioners of each ſide concluded a Treaty; agreeing, *That the Caſtle of Edenburgh ſhould be ſurrendered to his Excellency Gen. Cromwel, on Dec. 24. 1650; with all the Cannon, Arms, Magazines, and Furniture of War: That the Governor with all the Officers and Soldiers ſhould march forth with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, Matches lighted, and Bullet in Mouth, to ſuch Places as they ſhall chooſe; that ſuch Inhabitants as have any Goods in the Caſtle, ſhall have them reſtored.*

There were taken in this ſtrong Caſtle, 5 French Cannon, 5 Dutch half Cannon, 2 Culverins, 2 Demi-culverins, 2 Minions, 2 Falcons, 28 Braſs Drakes, 2 Petards, 7000 Arms, and other Proviſions. It was admired that this ſtrong Hold, the moſt impregnable in all Scotland, ſhould ſo ſoon ſurrender, conſidering its Situation and Advantages, being built upon a high Rock or Percipice, having only one Entrance, very ſteep and narrow, ſo that not above three can go a-breaſt, commanding all Places about it, inſomuch that by the Cannon the Engliſh were often galled in their Quarters, though at a conſiderable Diſtance. It was the common Diſcourſe that it was aſſaulted with ſilver Engines, but whether Covetouſneſs, Cowardice, or Treachery, were the Cauſe, it was of very great Conſequence and Advantage to Cromwel, and the further Proceedings of his Army.

The ſharpneſs of the Winter in that Northern Climate, was ſo extream about this time, that the War ſeemed almoſt at a ſtand, and the Scots were employed in crowning the King, who had been ſome time before at St. Johnſtons, where he received

ceived the News of the Loſs of the Scots at Dunbar, and of the Death of his Siſter the Princeſs Elizabeth, who died about the ſame time at Carisbrook Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. The Town of Scoon was appointed for his Coronation, where 150 Kings of that Nation had been crowned before. So Jan. 1. 1651. the King with the Nobility, Barons, and Burgeſſes in their Robes, removed thither, the whole Scotch Army ſtanding all the way as a Guard from St. Johnſtons thither. Having heard the Sermon preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas, the King ſitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church, took the Coronation Oath, and ſubſcribed the National Covenant, and the ſolemn League and Covenant. After which he aſcended upon Stage a little higher, and ſat down on the Throne, when the People being demanded 4 times by the King at Arms, *Whether they were willing to accept of King Charles for their King, and become ſubject to his Commands?* They expreſſed their Conſent with loud Acclamations, *God ſave K. Charles II.* Then the Crown was ſet upon his Head by the Marquiſs of Argyle, and the Nobility touching it with their Right Hands, ſwore Allegiance to him in theſe Words, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport thee to the utmoſt.* The People alſo holding up their Hands, ſwore Obedience according to the uſual Oath. Then the King and Nobility departed in the ſame Pomp as they entred, and after a ſtately Dinner returned to St. Johnſtons.

The Scots now conſulted how to raiſe ſuch an Army as might drive the Engliſh out of Scotland; ſo after they had Excommunicated Col. Straughan, Smeton, and others who came into the Engliſh, they gave out Commiſſions for raiſing more Forces, and many new Commanders were made, Middleton being Lieut. General of the Horſe. After which David Leſley, Lieut. General, with a Party of

800 Horſe, made an Attempt upon Lithgow, where was Col. Sanderſon with a Regiment of Horſe, who received them ſo warmly, that the Scots retreated without entring the Town. Cromwel being willing to gain all thoſe Garriſons on the South of the Frith, ordered Col. Fenwick with 2 Regiments of Horſe and Foot to reduce Hume Caſtle, who ſent a Summons to Tho. Cockburn the Governor, informing him, That Lieut. General Cromwel had ordered him to reduce that Caſtle, and that he ſhould have good Terms, which would eaſe the adjacent Parts of a great Charge, expecting his Anſwer by next Morning. Cockburn returns anſwer, *That he had received a Trumpeter of his without a Paſs, to render Hume Caſtle to Lieut. Gen. Cromwel; that he never ſaw his General, nor knew him; and that Hume Caſtle ſtood upon a Rock.* Adding theſe Verſes:

I William of the Waſtle,
Am now in my Caſtle.
And awe the Dogs in the Toon,
Shan't gar me gang down.

Yet this reſolute and quibling Anſwer did not ſecure him, for when the Engliſh with their Cannon and a Mortar-piece had made a ſmall Breach, the Beſieged beat a Parly, and having refuſed the Conditions offered, were compelled now to ſurrender upon Mercy, and the Governor and Garriſon, conſiſting of 78 Officers and Soldiers, gang'd out of the Caſtle. Col. Monk with three Regiments of Horſe and Foot, laid Siege to Timptallon Caſtle, which had much moleſted the Country with their Excurſions, againſt which they played their Mortars 48 Hours with Succeſs: They then battered it with ſix large Cannon, which did ſuch notable Execution that the Scots deſired a Truce, and Terms to march away, but none would be granted, only to have their Lives ſaved, which was at laſt accepted, and the Caſtle yielded, with all the Guns, Arms, Ammunition, and Proviſions there-

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in. The taking this Caſtle was of great Concern to the Engliſh, the Paſſage from Edenburgh to Berwick being now almoſt clear. But for all the care that was uſed, the Engliſh were daily ſurprized and killed in ſmall ſtragling Parties, upon which Cromwel publiſhed this Proclamation:

Finding that divers under my Command are not only daily ſpoiled and robbed, but barbarouſly and inhumanly ſlain, by a ſort of Outlaws and Robbers not under the Diſcipline of any Army, and finding that all our Tenderneſs to the Country produceth no better Effect than their Compliance with, and protection of ſuch Perſons, and conſidering it is in the Power of the Country to detect and diſcourage them, many being Inhabitants of thoſe Places where the Outrage is committed, and their Motion is ordinarily by the Invitation and Intelligence given them by Country-men. I do therefore declare, That if any under my Command, ſhall be hereafter robbed or ſpoiled by ſuch Parties, I will require Life for Life, and plenary Satisfaction for their Goods, of thoſe Pariſhes and Places where the Fact ſhall be committed, unleſs they diſcover the Offender: Given under my Hand at Edenburgh, Nov. 5. 1650. O. Cromwel.

In purſuance hereof, ſeveral Sums of Money were levied upon ſuch Pariſhes where any Robberies and Murthers were committed, and all Abetters and Aſſiſters were executed. Cromwel then marched from Edenburgh and ſoon after attempted to paſs over into Fife, but the Seaſon and difficult Paſſage not permitting it, they retire to their Winter Quarters, and received Proviſions from the Engliſh Fleet newly arrived at Leith, which was a great Encouragement to the Soldiers in the midſt of the Hardſhips and Diſeaſes to which they were expoſed, and the General had many violent Fits of the contagious Diſtemper of that Country, which brought him to the Brink of the Grave, ſo that it was reported he was dead, to the great Joy of the Scots, who were ſo pleaſed with the News, that

that they would hardly ſuffer themſelves to be better informed; for a Scotch Trumpeter coming out of Fife to Edenburgh to treat about reſtoring a Ship the Engliſh had taken near Burnt-Iſland; after he had delivered his Meſſage, he confidently told the Soldiers their General was dead, and that they did well in concealing it, nor could be convinced till the General ordered him to be brought into his Preſence, who was now ſomewhat recovered; ſo that upon his Return this falſe Rumour vaniſhed. But the Parliament of England hearing that he had a Relapſe and a violent Ague, they ſent 2 eminent Phyſicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, to uſe their utmoſt Art, with an Order that gave him Liberty to repair into England for recovering his Health: To which he made a Return of Thanks by a Letter to the L. Preſident from Edenburgh, dated June 3. in which among others are theſe unuſual Expreſſions: *My Lord, my Sickneſs was indeed ſo violent, that my Nature was not able to bear the Weight thereof, but the Lord was pleaſed to deliver me beyond Expectation, and to give me Cauſe to ſay once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. So that now by the Goodneſs of God, I find my ſelf growing to ſuch a State of Health and Strength, as may yet, if it be his good Will, render me uſeful, according to my poor Ability in the Station wherein he hath ſet me. I wiſh more ſteadineſs in your Affairs here, than to depend in the leaſt upon ſo frail a Thing as I am; indeed they do not, nor do they own any Inſtrument; this Cauſe is of God, and it muſt proſper. Oh! that all that have any Hand therein, being ſo perſuaded, would gird up the Loins of their Minds, and endeavour in all Things to walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my Lord,*

Your moſt humble Servant,

O. Cromwel.

At this time Ambaſſadors came to the Parliament of England, from Spain, Portugal, and Holland; the firſt was reminded of delaying Execution on the

the Aſſaſſinates of the Engliſh Reſident at Madrid. The ſecond not having full Power to give Satisfaction for the Expences of the State, and loſs of the Merchants Goods, by means of that King, was quickly diſmiſs'd. The Hollander kept at a diſtance, rather wiſhing Proſperity to the Royal Party, than deſiring Peace with the Commonwealth of England: Soon after Oliver St. John and Wal. Strickland were ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the States, and received with great Splendor, and having audience at the Hague, the L. Ambaſſador St. John made a learned and elegant Speech, declaring, *That they were ſent over to the High and Mighty States of the Netherlands, from the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, to make a firm League and Confederacy between the two Republicks, if they think fit, notwithſtanding the many Injuries the Engliſh have received from the Dutch Nation. Likewiſe to renew and confirm the former Treaties of Trade and Commerce made between the 2 Nations, wherein he ſhewed the notable Advantages of England, in reſpect of its commodious Situation for advancement of Trade, and all other Benefits. Laſtly, That the Parliament highly reſented the murther of Dr. Doriſlaus their Agent, not doubting but they would do their utmoſt to diſcover the Authors thereof.* After which the Ambaſſadors Gentlemen receiving ſeveral Affronts from the Royal Party there, the States publiſhed a Proclamation to prevent it; yet theſe Abuſes continued, no Puniſhment being inflicted on any, tho' the common People often ſwarm'd about the Ambaſſadors Gates, and aſſaulted their Servants; and the States evaded any Treaty till they ſaw how Matters would ſucceed in Scotland. The Parliament highly reſenting theſe Proceedings, recalled their Ambaſſadors, to the great ſurprize of the States, who endeavoured by frequent Viſits to them, to inſinuate their amicable Intentions, but the Ambaſſadors returned to England. And that which

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gave ſome Jealouſy to the Parliament of their Deſigns, was, becauſe Admiral Van Trump, with a Fleet of Ships, lay hovering upon the Coaſt of Scilly, as if to attempt ſomething againſt it; and the Occaſion of it being demanded, the States replied, *They had no other Intent but to demand the Reſtitution of ſuch Ships and Goods as the Pirates thereof had taken from their People.* With which Anſwer the Parliament were ſomewhat ſatisfied, yet to prevent the worſt, April 18. 1651. Sir G. Ayſcough, with a Squadron of Ships deſigned for reducing the Caribbee Iſlands, was ſent thither, and landed 300 Seamen beſides Soldiers, who ſoon became Maſters of the Iſlands Treſco and Briars, taking 150 Priſoners, and killing 20. They took alſo 2 Frigats of 32 and 18 Guns, and ſecured the beſt Harbour belonging to thoſe Iſlands. Hence the Enemy fled to St. Maries, their chief Strength, which yet was ſurrendered. Cornet Caſtle, in the Iſle of Guernſey, was attempted, but thro' Miſ-information of the Weakneſs of the Place, the Deſign miſcarried with the loſs of many Officers and Soldiers. About this time Brown Buſhel, an earneſt Stickler for the Royal Party, both by Sea and Land, and who when in Service of the Parliament had delivered up Scarborough to the King, was taken and beheaded at Tower-hill.

The Parliament of Scotland adjourned during the Coronation of the King, and met again in March, when ſome Differences aroſe about reſtoring ſeveral Lords of the Royal Party to their Seats in the Houſe, which yet the Aſſembly would not admit of till they had paſſed the Stool of Repentance; which Duke Hamilton did with ſome kind of Splendor, having a Table placed before him with a black Velvet Cover, and a Cuſhion of the ſame, and making a great Feaſt that Day. The King having now got ſome Power, endeavoured to regain Reputation among his Subjects, by

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putting all the Garriſon of Fife into a Poſture of Defence againſt the landing of the Engliſh, drawing what Forces he could ſpare, both Horſe and Foot, from Sterling, and joining them with the new Levies, which for better Security he quartered on the Water-ſide, and then goes to the Highlands to compoſe all Differences there, and to intice them to riſe and join with him, from whence Middleton ſoon after brought a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, and the Town of Dundee raiſed a Regiment of Horſe at their own Charge, and ſent them with a ſtately Tent, and 6 brals Cannon, for a Preſent to the King then at Sterling, whoſe Army now conſiſted in 6000 Horſe, and 15000 Foot; but the Earl of Eglington being ſent into the Weſt, with ſome other Commanders, to raiſe more Forces, coming to Dunbarton, Col. Lilburn, upon Notice, ſent a Party of Horſe, who ſeized the Earl, his Son Col. James Montgomery, Lieut. Col. Colborn, and ſome others, whom they carried Priſoners to Edenbugh.

It was now diſcovered, that the Engliſh Covenanters intended a general Riſing in Lancaſhire to join with the Scots, the chief Agent being Tho. Cook of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; who was taken and committed. And a Ship bound from the North of Scotland to the Iſle of Man, being by Tempeſt driven into Ayre, was ſearcht, and many Papers ſiezed that gave Light into the Buſineſs. And a Party of Horſe and Dragoons marched to Grenock, ſiezed Mr. Birkinhead, another Agent for the Royaliſts Deſigns, about whom they found ſuch Letters, Commiſſions, and Inſtructions, as the whole Intrigue was diſcovered; upon which Major Gen. Harriſon was ſent with a Detachment of Horſe and Foot to Carliſle, to prevent Inſurrections, or oppoſe the Inroads of the Scots. At London ſeveral were taken up, viz. Mr. Chriſt. Love, Major Alford, M. Adams, Col. Barton, Mr. Blackmore, Mr.

Mr. Caſe, Mr. Cawton, Dr. Drake, Mr. Drake, Capt. Part, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Haviland, M. Huntington, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Jequel, Mr. Jackſon, L. Col. Jackſon, Capt. Maſſey, Mr. Walton, Capt. Porter, Mr. Robinſon, Mr. Sterks, Col. Sowton, Col. Vaughan, and others; of all whom, only Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons ſuffered, being both beheaded on Tower-hill, Aug. 12. 1651. The reſt, among whom were 7 or 8 Miniſters of London, upon their humble Petitions were pardoned. There now happened an Inſurrection of 300 in Wales, who declared for K. Charles, upon a Report that the Engliſh Army under Cromwel was defeated in Scotland, but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed.

Col. Monk was ſent by Cromwel to Blackneſs, which had much annoyed their Quarters: After the Batteries were made, and ſome ſhot ſpent, they required Quarter, which was given, and the Place ſurrendered. Yet the Scots grew formidable, and made many Inſalls upon the out Quarters and Garriſons of the Engliſh with much Succeſs, by knowing the Country, ſo that ſeveral were ſlain; ſo Orders were given for contracting their Quarters, by ſlighting the remote Garriſons, and the Army was put into a marching Poſture for Fife, Blackneſs being made their Magazine; Capt. Butler at the ſame time arriving in the Succeſs Frigat at Leith, with 80000 Pounds for paying the Soldiers.

June 24. The Army being ready for a Campaign, march to Red-hall, and thence to Pencland-hills, where they encamped, and the General in his Tent treated the Lady Lambert, Gen. Deans, and other Engliſh Ladies and Gentlewomen, who came from Leith to view the Camp. The Army hearing the Scots were at Falkirk, marched to Lithgow, from whence they might ſee the Tents of the Scotch Army at Torwood, four Miles on this ſide Sterling, and hoped to come to a Battle; but the King having drawn his Foot into Torwood,

wood, fortified his Camp, which with the Rivers and Bogs prevented any Aſſault, tho' Cromwel marched in ſight of them, and ſtood from 12 to 8 at Night expecting the Scots Approach; but they only played on the Engliſh with their Cannon at a diſtance, ſo that the Army drew off to Glaſgow, and thence to Hamilton; but not being able to engage them, he attacked Kalender Houſe, where part of their Forces were, which denying to yield upon Summons, the Soldiers with Faggots paſſed over the Mote, and in half an Hour poſſeſſed the Houſe, putting the Governor and 62 Soldiers to the Sword in ſight of the whole Scotch Army, who did not once ſtir to relieve their Friends.

Cromwel finding the Scots would protract the War, reſolves once more to attempt the taking of Fife, to prevent them from having any further Supplies: So there were drawn out 1600 Foot, and 4 Troops of Horſe, who under Col. Overton were deſigned for this Service; and being imbarqued in the 27 flat-bottomed Boats ſent from England, in the Morning they landed at Queen's-ferry, with the loſs of 6 Men, and intrenched themſelves. While this was doing, Cromwel with his Army marched up cloſe to the Scots, that if they had gone toward Fife, he might have engaged them before they could have reached Sterling. The Scots receiving the Alarm, ſent 4000 Horſe and Foot under Sir John Brown, to force the Engliſh out of Fife; upon which Cromwel ſent Lambert with 2 Regiments of Horſe, and 2 of Foot, to reinforce the other Party, who in 24 Hours were ferried over and joined. So Col. Okey with his Regiment fell in among the Scots, whereby they were forced to draw up in Battalia, and ſo did the Engliſh who were ſuperior in Number, but had the diſadvantage of Ground. In this Poſture they continued facing each other about an hour and half, when the Engliſh reſolved to attack the Scots by aſcending

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an Hill, and Lambert's Right Wing falling furiouſly upon the Scots Left, they endured the Shock with much Reſolution; after a while the whole Body engaging, in a ſhort time the Scots were utterly routed, 2000 being ſlain, and 1400 taken Priſoners, with their Commanders Sir John Brown, Col. Buchan, and many others of Quality. Of the Engliſh few were killed, but many wounded. Then other Detachments were ſent over to Fife, to enable them to engage the whole Scots Army. The ſtrong Caſtle of Inneſgarvey, ſituate on a Rock in the midſt of the Frith, between Queen's ferry and North ferry, was ſurrendered to the Engliſh, the Garriſon being ſo terrified that they were content to march out only with their Swords to ſhew what Profeſſion they were of, leaving all their Ammunition and Proviſions, with 16 pieces of Cannon, behind them.

July 27. The whole Engliſh Army appeared before Burnt Iſland, and the General ſummons it, to which the Governor returned a modeſt Anſwer, and next Day deſired a Parley: Commiſſioners on both ſides were choſen, and it was agreed, That all the Proviſions, Guns, and Shipping of War, ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh, all the Officers and Soldiers to march out with Drums beating, &c. Thence they marched to St. Johnſtons, a Place of great Strength and Importance, into which the King had lately put a Regiment of Foot, who made ſome Difficulty at firſt to ſurrender, but finding Cromwel had ordered the draining the Moat round about the Town, the Courage of the Scots failed, ſo that they ſoon delivered it up.

The King finding his Affairs in Scotland grow deſperate, muſtered his Forces, being 16000 Horſe and Foot, and with theſe and hopes of further Supplies from his Friends, he reſolves to go for England, ſo the Scotch Army began their March from

from Sterling, July 30. 1651. and the ſixth Day after entered England by the way of Carliſle; which News coming to London, ſtartled the Parliament, and Cromwel was a little ſurprized, who by ſtaying to reduce St. Johnſtons, had ſuffered the King's Army to get 3 Days march before him, which he excuſes in a Letter to the Parliament, ſince the Army acted to the beſt of their Judgments. Cromwel preſently orders Lambert to march in the Reer of the Scots, with 3000 Horſe and Dragoons; Harriſon was to attack them, if poſſible, in the Van; and the General himſelf followed with 16 Regiments of Horſe and Foot, leaving the Proſecution of the War in Scotland to Leiut. Gen. Monk, with 7000 Horſe and Foot, who took in the Town and Caſtle of Sterling, with Aberdeen, Abernethy, Dundee, Dinotter Caſtle, Dunbarton Caſtle, and ſeveral others; ſo that all Scotland was ſubdued to the Republick of England.

The King marched forward with his Army, being proclaimed in all Towns as he went along, and publiſhed a Declaration, promiſing Pardon to all Perſons for all Crimes, except Cromwel, Bradſhaw, and Cook. A Copy of the Declaration ſent by the King in a Letter to the L. Mayor and Aldermen of London, was by Order of Parliament burnt by the Hangman at the Royal Exchange. And at a Muſter of the City Trained Bands in Bunhill-fields, conſiſting of 14000 Men, Lenthal, the Speaker of the Houſe, came thither, and cauſed a Fellow with a Link to burn a Copy of the Declaration at the Head of every Regiment. And the Parliament paſs an Act to make it High-Treaſon to correſpond with or aſſiſt Charles Stewart with any Relief whatſoever. After many Halts, Skirmiſhes, long and tedious Marches, of 300 Miles in 3 Weeks, the Scots entred into Worceſter, Aug. 23. 1651. from whence the King ſent his Letters Mandatory to Sir Tho. Middleton and Col. Mackworth,

worth, Governors of Shrewsbury, to raise Forces for him, but without Success. The Parliament raised the Militia of the Countries, and Cromwel and the rest of their Army coming up together, surrounded them on every side with their numerous Host, it being not known before in England, that so great Forces were assembled in so short a time, which the whole were judged to be above 50000, and the Scots in Worcester no more than 13000. The Earl of Derby being landed, as was expected, at Wyewater in Lancashire, with 300 Gentlemen and others, while the English were busied at Worcester, increased to 1500. Col. Lilburn was sent thither to observe his Motions, and Cromwel's Regiment of Foot being at Manchester, was to join him at Preston. To prevent which the Earl marched toward Manchester; Lilburn endeavoured to flank them in their march, and so to join the Foot; which the Earl perceiving, prest to engage, and Lilburn being over-matched in Foot, the Dispute proved difficult, yet in an Hour the Earl was totally routed, many Persons of Quality taken, 500 Soldiers, all their Baggage, Arms, and Ammunition, the Earl of Derby's George, Garter, and Robes of the Order, but he escaped, and recovered Worcester. There were slain, the L. Widdrington, Sir Tho. Tildesly, Col. Mat. Boynton, and other inferior Officers, with 60 Soldiers. Of the Parliament Party, 10 only were slain, but many wounded.

Cromwel having disposed his whole Army round Worcester in order for a Siege, the first remarkable Attempt was possessing of a Pass upon the Severn, at Upton by a Party led by Lambert and Fleetwood, who marched toward the River Teame, over which was made a Bridge of Boats, and another over Severn, on the General's side; upon which the King's Party took the Alarm, and drew out Horse and Foot to oppose their Passage, to whose Re-lief

Col.

Col. Ingolsby's, and Fairfax's Regiment of Foot, the General's Life-Guard, and Hacker's Regiment of Horſe, were all led on by Cromwel himſelf: Then Col. Goffe and Deans Regiments fell to ſcowring the Hedges which the King's Party had lined, and beat them from Hedge to Hedge, and being ſeconded by a freſh Supply, they were forced to retreat to Powick-bridge, where 3 Regiments of Scots maintained a hot Diſpute, but at length retired into Worceſter, except ſome that were taken. The Royaliſts renewing their Courage, drew out what Horſe and Foot they could on Cromwel's ſide, the King leading them on, they imagining moſt of his Army had been on the other ſide, ſo that by this bold and reſolute Sally, Cromwel's Men were forced a little to retire; but after a Fight of four Hours, wherein the King had his Horſe twice ſhot under him, the Works and Fort Royal were taken, their Cannon turned upon themſelves, and the Engliſh entred the Town; upon which many of the Foot threw down their Arms; which the King perceiving, rode up and down with his Hat in his Hand, intreating them to ſtand to their Arms, adding, *I had rather you would ſhoot me, than keep me alive to ſee the ſad Conſequences of this fatal Day.* But all proving ineffectual, the Earl of Cleveland and ſome others, rallying ſome Forces, put a ſmall Check to the Victors, whereby the King had Opportunity to eſcape about 7 at Night in the dark, with 60 Horſe, out of St. Martin's Gate.

The whole Army now entring the City, the Soldiers furiouſly fly thro' the Streets, doing ſuch Execution that nothing was ſeen for ſome time but Blood and Slaughter, till at laſt the Plunder of the Town and the Priſoners having a little terrified their Appetites, they think of ſecuring the reſt. Moſt of the Scots Foot were ſlain or taken, but 3000 Horſe made their eſcape. The Number of

of the slain and Prisoners was about 10000. Those of Quality taken were Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Derby and Kelby, and several other Lords and Gentlemen, 6 Col. of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieut. Col. of Horse, 8 of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 of Foot, 55 Quarter-Masters of Horse, 89 Lieutenants of Foot, 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 30 of the King's Servants, 9 Ministers, 9 Surgeons, 158 Colours, the King's Standard, Coach and Horses, with other rich Plunder, and his Collar of SS. Many Parties were taken in Warwickshire, Shropshire, &c. so that few of that great Body but were killed or taken. Major Gen. Massey being wounded surrendered himself, and after made his Escape. M. Gen. Middleton, Lieut. Gen. Lesley, were taken, and soon after most of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland were taken at Ellet in that Kingdom, where they were assembled to propagate the Royal Cause, namely, Old Gen. Lesley, Earl Marshal, Earl of Crawford, the Lord Keith, Ogilby, Burgoiny, Huntley, Ley, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and Ministers, which were shipped and sent for England.

Such was the sudden Change of the Condition of the Scots and the King, that he who a few Days before was proclaimed King of Great Britain, had now neither Camp nor Garrison to retire to, 500 Sterling being offered to discover him; so that after travelling in Disguise, and through many Dangers about England, he at length found an Opportunity to embark at Shoreham in Sussex for New-haven in France, where he arrived October 2. Of the great Number of Prisoners taken, none of the Quality suffered, but the Earl of Derby, beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, and Sir Tim. Fetherstone. Others of less Note suffered at Chester, Shrewsbury, and other Places. Nor did many of the Ro-

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aliſts expect any better Fortune in this Expedition, as appears by D. Hamilton's Letter to Sir Will. Crofts, taken among other Papers a few Days before the Fight, to this Purpoſe, *We are all Laughing at the Ridiculouſneſs of our Condition, who having quitted Scotland being ſcarce able to maintain it, yet we graſp at all, and nothing but all will ſatisfy us, or to loſe all. I confeſs I cannot tell whether our Hopes or Fears are greateſt, but we have one ſtout Argument, and that is Deſpair, for we muſt now either ſhortly fight or dye. All the Rogues have left us, I will not ſay whether for fear of Diſloyalty. but all now with his Majeſty, are ſuch as will not diſpute his Commands.* So that we ſee this Undertaking was not the Product of deliberate Counſel, but of Neceſſity and Deſparation.

This Battle put a Period to the King's Hopes of getting the Government by Arms, and ſecured to Cromwel all his former Conqueſts, the Influence whereof, tho' acted in England, was great in Scotland; for their principal Nobility and Soldiers being cut off, they were no longer able to bear up, but were ſoon reduced to the Obedience of England. And Cromwel giving an Account to the Parliament of this great Succeſs, he concludes his Letter by telling them, That this was a crowning Victory, which was afterward thought to proceed from the foreſight of his future Greatneſs. This Fight happened Sept. 3. 1651. that very Day twelve Month wherein the Scots received the fatal Blow at Dunbar. After the Battle, Cromwel ſtaid to ſee the Walls of Worceſter levelled to the Ground, and the Ditches filledup with Earth, to ſhew his Averſion to the Inhabitants for receiving his Enemies into it; and Sept. 12. came to London, being met at Acton by the Parliament and their Speaker, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and hundreds of others, to whom Steel the City Recorder made a congratulatory Oration, extolling his Victories and Exploits

with

with the higheſt Flights of Rhetorick, and applying to him the Words of Pſalm 149. *Let the high Praiſes of God be in their Mouth, and a two-edged Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, and Puniſhments upon the People, to bind their Kings with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron, to execute upon them the Judgment written; this Honour have all his Saints: Praiſe ye the Lord.* He was then conducted in Triumph to his Houſe near White-hall, great Numbers of Scots Priſoners coming after him, thro' Tuthill-fields to Weſtminſter, as Trophies of his Victories, and the Colours taken there, with thoſe at Dunbar, Worceſter, and Preſton, were hung up in Weſtminſter-hall. After a ſhort Repoſe, Cromwel and Lambert went to take their Places in Parliament, and were entertained by the Speaker with a ſecond congratulatory Oration, magnifying their Courage, and acknowledging the great Obligation of the People of England to them. The ſame Day the Lord-Mayor feaſted the General and his Officers, where mutual Returns of Kindneſs paſſed, to the Satisfaction of both Parties.

Oct. 14. 1651. Col. Hayn with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, were ſhipped at Weymouth for reducing the Iſle of Jerſey, in 80 Veſſels, under General Blake, who came to St. Owen's Bay, where the Ships running aground, the Men leapt out, ſome to the Middle, others up to the Neck in Water, and run aſhore, the Enemy playing hard upon them with great and ſmall Shot, and gave a hot Charge with their Horſe; yet after half an Hours Diſpute they fled, and left behind them 12 Cannon, and ſome Colours. The Engliſh marched further into the Iſland, within ſight of Elizabeth Caſtle, under which was a Fort called St. Alban's Tower, with 14 Guns, which upon Summons was delivered, and ſo was Orgueil Caſtle, and Elizabeth Caſtle, upon good Terms, to the

Garriſon

Garriſon and Governor Sir G. Carteret, becauſe of its Strength. The Iſle of Man was likewiſe reduced, with the Caſtles of Peel and Ruſhen, both ſtrong and almoſt impregnable (as well at Cornet Caſtle in the Iſle of Guernſey) if the beſieged had reſolutely defended them. About this time died Adm. Popham and Henry Ireton, Son in Law to Oliver Cromwel, at Lymerick, which Kingdom in a while was wholly reduced to the Government of England.

The Parliament now paſſed an Act for incorporating Scotland into one Common-wealth with England; another of Oblivion and Free Pardon; a third to determine the Seſſion of this Parliament on Nov. 3. 1654. a fourth for the increaſe of Shipping, and encouragement of Navigation, wherein was enacted, *That no foreign Goods or Commodities ſhould be imported into England or Ireland but only in Engliſh Ships, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Goods and Ships. And that no Goods ſhould be brought in, unleſs ſhipped from the Place of their Growth and Manufacture only. Alſo that no Fiſh, or Oyl mad of Fiſh, or Whale bone, ſhall be imported, but ſuch as ſhall be caught in Veſſels belonging to the Engliſh. Laſtly, that no ſalted Fiſh, from Feb 1. 1653, ſhall be exported in any ſave Engliſh Veſſels, with ſeveral other Exceptions and Proviſoes, in reference to Eaſt India Goods, and of Turky, Spain, and Portugal.*

This laſt Act, though grateful to the Merchants and Seamen, yet extreamly diſturbed the Hollanders, as judging it would cauſe a vaſt Diminution in their Trade, which with ſo much Advantage they had long driven, to the loſs and detriment of the Engliſh Nation; who ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire it might be repealed, but not ſucceeding, they began to diſpute our ancient Right of the Flag in the Britiſh Seas, by refuſing to ſtrike ſail to our Men of War, which occaſioned a Breach between the two Republicks. For in May 1652, Adm.

Trump with 42 ſail of Dutch Ships was diſcovered on the back of the Goodwin Sands, bearing toward Dover Road: Major Bourn being near with a Squadron of Engliſh Ships, ſent the Grey-hound Frigate to ſpeak with them, to whom they ſtruck their Toplail, ſaying, They came with a Meſſage from Adm. Trump to our Commander in chief and coming Aboard ſaid, That the great North Winds had forced them farther South than they intended, being compelled to ride ſome Days off Dunkirk, where they had loſt divers Anchors and Cables, proteſting they intended no Injury to the Engliſh Fleet; Gen. Blake who was Weſtward with the reſt of the Engliſh Fleet, having ſpeedy advice of this Paſſage, haſtned toward them, and May 19. ſaw them at Anchor in Dover Road, and being within three Leagues, they ſtood Eaſtward and received an Expreſs from the States; upon which they bore directly up to our Fleet, Van Trump being headmoſt, Blake ſhot three Guns without Ball at his Flag, and Trump anſwered with a Gun on the adverſe ſide of the Ship, ſignifying a diſdain, and inſtead of ſtriking his Toplail, hung out a red Flag, which was the Signal for his whole Fleet, and gave Blake a Broadſide. The Fight continued four Hours till Night parted them, in which one Dutch Ship was ſunk, and another of thirty Guns taken, with the Captains of both, and 150 Priſoners. Of the Engliſh 10 were ſlain and 40 wounded; the Engliſh Admiral was damaged in her Maſts, Sails, Rigging, and Hull, but the reſt of the Fleet had inconſiderable loſs.

This Attempt of the Hollanders, while we were upon Treaty, ſo incenſed the Parliament, that all the Addreſſes and Overtures of their Ambaſſadors, and the ſending hither two more, could not appeaſe them; yea, though they excuſed it, alledging, *That the unhappy Fight between the Ships of both Commonwealths, was without the Knowledge and againſt the Will*

Wills of the States, taking God the ſearcher of Hearts to witneſs the ſame, and that with Grief and Aſtoniſhment they received the News of that unhappy raſh Action, and had conſulted a Remedy to this raw and bloody Wound, by appointing a ſolemn Meeting of all the Provinces, whereby they doubted not (by God's Favour) to remove the Cauſe of all further Differences, for the Benefit of both Nations, and to avoid the deteſtable Shedding of Chriſtian Blood, ſo much deſired by their Enemies, beſeeching the Council of State, by the Pledges of common Religion and Liberty, to do nothing out of Heat, which with vain Wiſhes can never be recalled. This they deſire the more, becauſe their Ships of War and Merchandize are detained in the Engliſh Ports.

The Parliament replied, *That calling to Mind the Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which they have always diſcovered toward the States General, during all the Troubles in England, they are much ſurprized at ſuch unſuitable Returns, eſpecially at the Acts of Hoſtility lately committed in the very Roads of England, upon the Ships of this Commonwealth; and though they would willingly believe that the late Engagements of the Fleets happened without their Knowledge or Conſent, yet when they conſider how diſagreeable the Actions of that State, and their Officers at Sea have been in the midſt of a Treaty offered by themſelves, and the extraordinary Preparations of 150 Ships without any viſible Occaſion, and the Inſtructions given by the States to their Commanders at Sea, they have too much Cauſe to believe that the States General deſign by force to uſurp the known Right of England in the Seas; to deſtroy their Fleets that are under God their Walls and Bulwarks, and to expoſe the Nation to be invaded at Pleaſure, as by their late Action they have attempted to do. Therefore the Parliament are obliged to endeavour (by God's Aſſiſtance) to ſeek Reparations for the Wrongs already ſuffered, and Security againſt any ſuch At-*

tempts for the future, yet still desiring that all Differences, if possible, may be peaceably and amicably composed.

This Answer quite broke off the Treaty, and the Ambassadors having had Audience of the Parliament, took their Leaves and departed.

And now these mighty States prepare to engage each other; Gen. Blake, with a gallant Fleet, advanced North towards the Isles of Orkney, to seize all Vessels fishing there, who took 12 Dutch Men of War guarding the Busses; and Sir G. Ayscough with his Squadron being left to guard the narrow Seas, discovered 30 Dutch Ships between Dover and Calice, of which ten were taken and burnt, the rest run ashore on the Coast of France. Many other Dutch and French Prizes were daily taken. Thence Ayscough sailed West, to seek out the Dutch Fleet, and convoy home some Merchantmen from Plymouth; and being within 7 Leagues of Plymouth, he had Advice of them, so he resolved to stand over to the Coast of France, and next day, Aug. 16. 1652, had sight of them, being 60 Sail of Men of War, and 30 Merchant-men; the English were but 38 Sail, 4 Fireships, and 4 Advice-Ships, yet they resolved to engage the Enemy: Ayscough and 6 other Frigats charged through the whole Dutch Fleet, receiving much damage in their Masts, Hulls, Sails, and Rigging, yet they tack'd about, and charged them all again till dark Night, and had not some English Captains been deficient in their Duty, they had probably destroy'd their whole Navy. In this Engagement some few English were slain and wounded, and three Captains; a Fire-ship of theirs was sunk, with two other Ships; but the darkness of the Night concealed their other Losses, who stood away for the Coasts of France, and the English for Plymouth to repair.

During this Fight, Blake came from the North into the Downs, and took six rich Dutch Prizes, send-

ſending ſome Frigats to reinforce Ayſcough, and Pen with his Squadron hovering on the Coaſts of France, ſurprized ſix ſtout Men of War more, now returned from the Venetian Service, and richly laden. Sept. 9. 1652. Blake riding in the Downs, having Notice of a French Fleet in Calice Road, whom he chaſed as far as they durſt for the Sands of Dunkirk, taking moſt them, being ten Men of War of 28 and 30 Guns, and ſix Fire-ſhips. This Fleet was to take in Proviſions at Calice for the Relief of Dunkirk, then beſieged by the Spaniards, who being prevented of this Succour ſoon ſurrendered, as alſo Graveling. Sept. 27. Gen. Blake diſcovered 60 ſail of Dutch Men of War on the back of the Goodwin Sands under Admiral de Wit; next Day Blake with his Fleet bore in among them, but being upon the Sand called the Kentiſh Knock, under which the Dutch had ſecured themſelves, four of our Ships were on Ground, but ſoon got off, and reſolved to engage, but the Wind prevented them from coming up, yet with much ado got next Day within Shot, upon which the Dutch ſet up their Mainſails and run for it, whom ten Frigats chaſed till Night, and next Day purſued them in ſight of Weſt Gabel in Zeeland, and ſaw them run into Goree. The Engliſh fearing to ſail further upon the Holland Coaſt, returned back. In this Skirmiſh the Dutch Rear-Admiral was loſt, with a Flye-boat that towed her, and many Men killed; 40 Engliſh were ſlain, and as many wounded.

The War between theſe two States reached to the Mediterranean Sea, whither the Engliſh had ſent ſeveral Frigats to ſecure the Merchants Ships from the Privateers of Toulon and Marſeilles; and a Squadron of 4 Sail, with 3 Smyrna Ships under their Convoy, met with 11 Dutch Men of War, who having ſuch Advantage, fell upon them, but met with ſtout Reſiſtance, two of their Main-top

Masts being shot down, and one of their Ships fired but quenched again. The Phœnix a stout Ship of 45 Guns was taken by the Dutch, the Paragon lost 27 Men, and had 30 wounded; the Elizabeth had only two Barrels of Powder left, yet in despight of the Enemy, they brought their Merchants safe into Porto Longone near the Isle of Corsica, where the Fight was. The Dutch gloried in this small Success, tho' they obtained it dearly, and more by their Number than Valour, the English never giving over, while they had Men or Ammunition.

The Hollanders extreamly concerned at the continual Loss of their Ships, used their utmost Industry in fitting out their Fleet in December, and appeared on the back of the Goodwin with 90 Men of War and 10 Fire-ships. The English under Blake were but 42, and not half man'd, most of the great Ships being laid up, yet they resolve to engage them, and Dec. 30. both Fleets met, the English having the Weather-gage, and as few as they were, several of them never came up, pretending they wanted Men, so that the stress of the Fight lay upon a few, who were to encounter the whole Dutch Fleet. The Vanguard and the Victory engaged 20 of the Hollanders, from first to last, and yet got clear of them all. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken, and Blake going to relieve the first, had his Foremast shot by the Board, was twice boarded, and yet got off, as did all the rest but those 2, and 2 Merchant-ships. Blake withdrew into Lee Road to repair, and the Dutch boasted of this Victory, by their Ambassadors, in all the Courts of Christendom.

This small Loss did only rouse and waken the English Courage, who thought on nothing but Revenge; and to encourage them, the Parliament ordered the Seamens Wages to be raised, from 19 to 23 Shillings a Month; for every Prize taken to have

have 10*s.* a Ton, and 6*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* for every great Gun, whether Iron or Braſs, to be divided among the Ships Crew, according to their Offices, and all upon or above the Gun deck to be Prize. Likewiſe to have 10*l.* a Gun for every Man of War they ſhall ſink and deſtroy, to be divided with a Month's pay Gratis to all Volunteers liſted within 40 Days; and care taken for paying and curing the ſick and wounded, with ſeveral other Advantages: Which being Printed and Publiſhed, the Seamen came in apace, ſo that in February the Engliſh had a ſtout Fleet at Sea, though the Dutch endeavoured to hinder all Nations from ſupplying us with Pitch, Tar, or Maſts.

Feb. 18. 1653. The Dutch Navy of 80 Sail, with 150 Merchantmen from Roan, Nants, and Bourdeaux, were diſcovered between the Iſle of Wight and Portland, the headmoſt of the Engliſh Fleet came up and engaged them, which was Gen. Blake in the Triumph, Gen. Deal, and 3 or 4 more, the reſt being to the Leeward, and not able to come up; yet theſe few held 30 Dutch Men of War in play from 8 till 2 in the Afternoon; when about half the Engliſh Fleet came up, and engaged the Enemy till Night parted them. In this Fight the Engliſh loſt only the Sampſon, a Dutch Prize, which being unſerviceable themſelves ſank, the Men being all ſaved; which Ship ſunk the Adverſary that maimed her. Next Day the Engliſh chaſed the Dutch, whereby ſome of the Enemies Ships were brought to the Lee and deſtroy'd. The Day after they engaged again, and the Diſpute grew ſo hot, that the Hollanders began to fire out of their ſternmoſt Ports, and make away; ſo that 50 Merchant Ships fell into our Hands, and 9 Men of War, ſeveral others being ſunk, beſides what themſelves ſunk as unſerviceable; and it was writ from France, that about 2000 dead Bodies of the Dutch were ſeen about their Shores; 150 were

taken Prisoners and brought to London; Blake was wounded, and several English Captains slain.

The Dutch deeply sensible of this Loss, sent a Letter to the Parliament of England, signed only by the States of Holland: The Parliament return'd Answer, signifying their Desire of a friendly Compliance to avoid further Mischief; yet it had no Effect. But the English to allay this Victory met with a great Check in the Streights, for having by a Stratagem regained the Phœnix Frigat from the Dutch, as she lay in Leghorn Haven, they prepared for another Encounter with them: Captain Boddily with 9 Men of War, sailed from Porto Longone, to assist Capt. Apleton at Leghorn, where he had been kept in for several Months, by 22 Holland Frigats; upon his approach Apleton weighed out of the Mole a little too soon with his Ships, and was instantly engaged by the whole Dutch Fleet, who having the Wind, their Admiral and 2 others boarded the Leopard, a stout Ship of fifty Guns, who fought bravely 5 Hours, but at length was over power'd. The Bonaventure by a Shot in her Powder-Room, took Fire and was blown up. The Perigrine was engaged with 4 or 5 Dutch at a time, and having her main and mizen Mast shot away, was also taken. The Levant Merchant was first boarded by one of the Enemies Ships of 36 Guns, and after 2 Hours Fight by another as big, the first of which she sunk, and yet was also possest by the Dutch. The Sampton was boarded by young Rear-Admiral Trump on one side, and a Fire-ship on the other, and burnt. The loss of these 5 Ships was the greatest Damage the English sustained since the War, and was done in the sight of Capt. Boddily and 9 English Frigats, who did not in the least assist them; for which they were branded with Cowardice and Treachery.

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At this time the King of Portugal unable to reſiſt the Power of the Engliſh at Sea, ſent an Ambaſſador to conclude a Peace, and give ſatisfaction for the Merchants Loſſes. An Agent was likewiſe ſent from the French King, deſiring the Releaſe of his Ships taken going for the Relief of Dunkirk, and to procure a right Underſtanding between the 2 Republicks. And on the other ſide, four Deputies were ſent from the Prince of Conde, to crave Aid againſt Cardinal Mazarine and his Party, who had beſieged the City of Bourdeaux. Other Nations likewiſe endeavoured to be Mediators between England and Holland, as the Queen of Sweden, the Cantons of Switzerland, the Imperial Cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, but all was fruitleſs.

Dec. 10. 1652, Gen. Cromwel appointed a Meeting of divers Members of the Parliament and principal Officers of the Army, where he propoſed to them, *That the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation, and he requeſted this Meeting, that they might conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to preſent it to the Parliament.* To this Propoſal ſeveral preſent gave their Opinions. And firſt,

Mr. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Houſe, ſpake thus, My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excelleney, and the Buſineſs you are pleaſed to propound to us is very neceſſary to be conſidered. God hath given marvellous Succeſs to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve theſe Mercies to ſome Settlement, ſuch as may be to God's Honour, and the good of the Common-wealth, we ſhall be very much blameworthy.

Major General Harriſon ſpake thus. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, is very neceſſary; that ſo the Mercies

which the Lord hath given us may not be caſt away: But how this may be done is the great Queſtion.

L. Whitlock. It is a great Queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were a pity that a Meeting of ſo many able and worthy Perſons as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs; and I would humbly offer in the firſt Place, whether it be not requiſite to underſtand in what way this Settlement is deſired, whether by an abſolute Republick, or with a mixture of Monarchy.

General Cromwel. My Lord Commiſſioner Whitlock hath put it upon the right Point, and indeed it is my Meaning, that we ſhould conſider whether a Republick, or a mixt Monarchical Government will be beſt ſettled; and if any thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power ſhall be placed.

Sir Tho. Widdrington. I think a mixt Monarchical Government will be moſt ſuitable to the Laws and People of this Nation; and if any Monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it moſt juſt to place that Power in one of the Sons of the late King.

Lieut. Gen. Fleetwood. I think that Queſtion, whether an abſolute Republick, or a mixt Monarchy be beſt to be ſettled in this Nation, will not very eaſily be determined.

L. C. J. St. John. It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without ſomething of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be ſettled, as not to ſhake the Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

Mr. William Lenthal. It will breed a ſtrange confuſion to ſettle a Government of this Nation without ſomething of Monarchy.

Col. Desborough. I beſeech you, my Lord, why may not this as well as orher Nations be governed by a Republick.

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L. Commiſſioner Whitlock. The Laws of England are ſo interwoven with the Power and Practice of Monarchy, that to ſettle a Government without ſomething of Monarchy in it, would breed ſo great an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will ſcarce find time to rectify; nor can any well forſee the Inconveniencies that will ariſe thereby.

Col. Whaley. I do not underſtand Matters of Law, but it ſeems to me the beſt way, not to have any thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Government; and if we ſhould reſolve upon any, whom ſhould we pitch upon? The King's eldeſt Son hath been in Arms againſt us, and his ſecond Son is our Enemy.

Sir Tho. Widdrington. But the late King's third Son, the D. of Gloceſter, is ſtill among us, and too young to have been in Arms againſt us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.

L. Whitlock. There may be a Day given for the King's eldeſt Son, or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come into the Parliament, and upon ſuch Terms as ſhall be thought fit and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, and a Settlement may be made upon them.

Gen. Cromwel. This will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our Rights, both as Engliſhmen and Chriſtians, that a Settlement of ſomewhat of Monarchical Power would be very effectual.

So that it ſeems the Military Men were for an abſolute Common-wealth, the Lawyers for a mixt Monarchy, and many for the Duke of Gloceſter to be King: But ſome imagine that Cromwel deſigned himſelf to be the Perſon, and by this Conference ſounded the Inclinations of theſe Gentlemen; ſo the Company parted without any Reſult at all. By which it appears, to be far eaſier to ſubvert an ancient Govern-

Government, than to erect a new one in the place thereof.

In February following the Duke of Glocester being sent to his Mother into France, Cromwel had a long Discourse with L. Commissioner Whitlock, concerning the danger of a victorious Army lying idle in Peace, which usually occasioned murmuring, for not being rewarded according to their Deserts: And that the Army were much disgusted with the Parliament for their Pride, Ambition, Self-seeking, and ingrossing all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Factions; their delays in Business, and design to perpetuate themselves; their medling in private Matters; and the scandalous Lives of some of the Chief of them, so that unless there were some Authority so full and high as to restrain and keep things in better Order, and that might put a stop to these Exorbitancies, it would be impossible in human Reason to prevent the utter Ruin of the Nation.

The *L. Whitlock* in answer hereunto, represented the Difficulty of reforming the Parliament, he being subordinate to them, and that he hoped the greater Part of the Members were not such as he had represented them.

Cromwel replies, My Lord, there is little hopes of a good Settlement from them, really there is not, but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath so graciously done for them and us: We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to Confusion; and these Men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; some Course must be taken to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

L. Whitlock answered, We our selves have owned them the supream Power, and taken our Commissions from them; and how to restrain them after this, will be hard to find out.

Cromwel.

Cromwel. What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?

Whitlock. I think the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

Cromwel. Why do you think ſo?

Whitlock replied. That as to his own Perſon the Title of King would be no Advantage, becauſe he had the Kingly Power in him already; for as to the Militia, as he was General, all Officers which he nominated were ſeldom refuſed; and tho' he had no Negative Voice in paſſing Laws, yet what he diſliked did not eaſily paſs, and that he had Power to diſpoſe of the Money raiſed by Taxes, and for Foreign Affairs; and tho' the Parliament had the ceremonial Part, the Expectation of Succeſs depended on his Excellency, to whom Foreign Miniſters particularly addreſſed themſelves. So that there was leſs Envy and Danger, but not leſs Opportunity of doing good in his being General, than if he ſhould aſſume the Title of King. That it would alſo be dangerous to take it, ſince the main Controverſy between him and his Adverſaries was, whether to eſtabliſh a Monarchy or a Free-State, and that moſt of his Friends had engaged with him, and undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties for ſettling a Common-wealth; but if he ſhould take on him the Title of King, the Queſtion would be no longer, Whether the Government ſhould be by a Monarchy or a Free-State, but whether Cromwel or Stuart ſhould be King. That his Excellency was ſurrounded with ſecret Enemies, and that the Officers of the Army, many of whom were of turbulent and buſy Spirits, and who by the Succeſſes they had gained with him, accounted themſelves all Victors, were not without their Deſigns how to diſmount him, that ſome of them might get into the Saddle, and that they wanted not Counſel and Encouragement herein from ſome Members of Parliament, who were

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jealous of his Power and Greatness, fearing he should in time overmaster them, and so were willing to clip his Wings.

Cromwel thanked Whitlock for his Advice, and asked him, what were his Thoughts for preventing the impending Mischiefs.

Whitlock advised him to make a private Treaty with Charles II. King of Scots, who in the Condition he was in would, give his Excellency sufficient Security for making himself and Posterity as great and permanent in human Probability, as any Subject could desire. He likewise might provide for his Friends, and fully secure all Spiritual and Civil Liberties. At this Cromwel seem'd displeased, and broke off the Discourse, and his Carriage to Whitlock from that time was altered.

The three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, being wholly subdued by the Republicans, an Act of Oblivion passed for pardoning all former Crimes, chiefly procured by Cromwel, to ingratiate himself with the vanquish'd Royalists. And now the Army seem much discontented, objecting that the Parliament appropriated all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and earnestly desire, that at length an end might be put to their sitting, to make way for a new Representative chosen by the People, and for reforming the Laws. The Parliament grown grave by long Possession, would not appear fearful of their own Servants and Soldiers, and so bid them mind their own Affairs, and obey their Order, to whom the care of the Common-wealth was committed, and to make no Tumults, since they who had plucked a King from his Throne, wanted neither Resolution nor Force to reduce them to their Obedience, though milder Courses were more agreeable to them.

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The Soldiers reply, That they were not mercenary Men, neither had taken up Arms only in proſpect of Pay, but for recovering the publick Liberty, neither would they lay them down till they had found the Fruits of their Endeavours. And that they ought not to boaſt of putting the King to Death, ſince they could never have effected it, had not they been ſupported and encouraged by their Swords and Courage. The Parliament being moved with theſe Reproaches of the Army, reſolve to make an Act for diſbanding part of them, and the Remainder to receive but half Pay, and to be cantoned in ſeveral Places throughout the Nation, to prevent the publick Charge, to hinder all Attempts of the Royaliſts, and take from their own Soldiers all Opportunities of making Innovations. The Officers of the Army were much diſturbed hereat, refuſing to be diſbanded, and frame a Petition, wherein they declare their Reſolution, not to lay down their Arms, before the Remnant of the long Parliament were diſſolved, and a Repreſentative lawfully called, and that for Expedition ſome of the Officers of the Army as Commiſſioners ſhould be admitted into the Houſe. This the Parliament were obliged to condeſcend to, and 12 of each Party met about the Propoſals; but they not agreeing upon the Manner and Form of the new Government, the Parliament think it ſafeſt that new Members ſhould be choſen in place of thoſe that died, or were turned out; which they inſtantly agreed to, and enacted, though the Night before they had privately promiſed the contrary to ſeveral chief Officers, and that they would model a new Repreſentative.

So ſoon as Cromwel heard this, he haſtned to the Parliament Houſe, April 23. 1653, with M. Gen. Harriſon, Fleetwood, and 7 or 8 Officers more, ordering 10 or 12 Soldiers to ſtand at the Door: And being entred, ſpake to this purpoſe, You have

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ſufficiently impoſed upon the People, and provided for your ſelves and Relations, by ſitting here under pretence of ſettling the Common-wealth, reforming the Laws, and promoting the publick Good; whilſt in the mean time you have invaded the Wealth of the State, and have thruſt your ſelves and Friends into all Offices of Profit and Honour to feed your own Luxury and Impiety, then ſtamping with his Foot, which was a ſignal to the Soldiers without, For Shame, ſaid he, get you gone, and give place to honeſter Men that will more faithfully diſcharge their Truſt. But while all ſurprized with Conſternation held their Tongues, one had the boldneſs to tell him, It ſuited ill with his Excellency's Juſtice to brand them all promiſcuouſly without any Proof of a Crime. At which being a little more heated, taking hold of one by the Cloke, *Thou art a Whoremaſter*, ſays he: And to another, *Thou art an Adulterer*: To a third, *Thou art a Glutton*: And to a fourth, *Thou art an Extortioner*. Upon which they all began to move, ſome by Fear or Force, others murmuring, but the Speaker not riſing readily out of the Chair, Harriſon lent him his Hand, and gently lifted him out. Cromwel alſo ordered that Bauble, as he called the Mace, to be taken away, and commanded the Parliament to be diſſolved, to the general Satisfaction of moſt People, who were tired out with their dilatory Proceedings. When the Members were all departed, the Doors were locked up, and Guards ſet upon them, and all the Avenues, to prevent their Return. And thus was this mighty Parliament diſſolved or diſmiſſed, after 12 Years ſitting, and after having tranſacted ſo many great Affairs, and this without any Oppoſition or Diſturbance, their Authority transferred into the Hands of the Soldiery, and their Names publickly reproached and villified. But to ſatisfy the Nation, Cromwel and his Council of Officers publiſhed a De-

Declaration the next Day, of the Reaſons of their Proceedings, wherein they gave an Account of the *great Succeſſes wherewith the Army had been bleſt, which they hoped would have procured the Settlement of the Nation both in Spiritual and Civil Matters; but the Parliament making little Progreſs therein, the good People of the Land applied themſelves to the Army, to move them to proceed vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the Common-wealth, and ſettling it upon a Foundation of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, who tho' they were unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, yet were at length prevailed upon to petition them to call a new Parliament, but there appeared among them a corrupt Party, who ſhewed much bitterneſs and oppoſition to the People of God, and the godly Party in Parliament, and were of no uſe but to countenance their ill Practices, who deſigned to fill up their Houſe and perpetuate themſelves in the Government, and to hinder the true Election of ſucceſſive Parliaments, whereby the Laws might be reformed, Juſtice impartially adminiſtred, and the People in time might forget Monarchy. For preventing theſe pernicious Deſigns, whereby the Intereſt of all honeſt Men, and the glorious Cauſe, would at one Blow have been laid in the Duſt, and the Nation imbroiled in new Troubles, they were neceſſitated (though with much Reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament, which they had done out of an honeſt Heart, preferring the Cauſe above their Names, Families, Lives, and Intereſt, how dear ſoever; with real purpoſe of Heart to call to the Government, Perſons of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty from ſeveral Parts of the Common-wealth, thereby to obtain the Fruits of a juſt and righteous Reformation, ſo long prayed for, wiſht for, and panted after by all good Men, &c.*

Signed at Whitehall, in the Name of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwel, and Council of Officers, April 22. 1653.

This Declaration was followed by another, that all Officers Civil and Military ſhould continue in their

their ſeveral Places, and act therein as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting, and that a Council of State ſhould be conſtituted, for managing the Affairs of the Common-wealth, till a Parliament ſhould be called.

The Hollanders hoped to reap Advantage from theſe Revolutions, but were miſtaken, the Naval Affairs being managed with as much Application as before, as they ſoon felt to their coſt; for the Dutch having a great Fleet of Merchant Ships Outward bound, durſt not venture through the Channel, but with a Fleet of 90 Men of War conveyed them by the North of Scotland toward the Sound, and there met with another Fleet of Merchantmen Homeward-bound, from Ruſſia, Eaſt-India, and France, whom they brought home ſafe, and hearing the Engliſh Fleet was Northwards, came into the Downs, taking 2 or 3 ſmall Veſſels, and made ſome ſhot into Dover Town, boaſting the Engliſh Fleet was loſt, and that they would ſend a Hue and Cry after them, when on a ſudden the Engliſh Navy arrived from the North, and came into Yarmouth Road.

June 1. being at Anchor in Sole-Bay, they diſcovered two Dutch Galliot-Hoys, to whom Chaſe was given till the whole Dutch Fleet was diſcovered, but the Weather proving dark, they loſt ſight of them. June 3. our Fleet being at Anchor off the Gober, diſcovered the Enemy 2 Leagues to the Leeward, being 100 Sail, and weighed toward them; about Noon both Fleets were engaged for ſome Hours very ſharply, in the Evening the Dutch bore right away before the Wind. Next Day they engaged again, and after 4 Hours Diſpute the Hollanders would have got away, but the Wind freſhing Weſterly, the Engliſh bore in ſo hard among them, that they took 11 Men of War, 2 Water Hoys, 6 Captains, 1500 Priſoners, and

and ſunk 6 Men of War more, the reſt eſcaped by the Darkneſs of the Night and the Flatts. The Engliſh loſt Dean, one of their Admirals, who was killed with a great Shot the firſt Day, with one Captain and 150 Men more, and 240 wounded, but not one Ship was loſt. The Engliſh were mu h encouraged by Blake's coming in during the Fight with 16 ſtout Men of War. The Dutch having in the Night got into the Weilings, the Flye, and Texel, the Engliſh ſail as near the Coaſt as was ſafe, where they lay for ſome time, taking many Prizes, to the great Damage of the Hollanders, whoſe Ships could neither go in or out from any one of their Ports, to join together to oppoſe them.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers, having concluded of the Qualifications of the next Parliament, and made a Liſt of thoſe Perſons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to whom they deſigned to commit the Legiſlative Power, Warrants were iſſued out for them to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, July 4. 1653.

The Perſons ſummoned to the Number of 144 met accordingly, where Cromwel made a Speech to them, recounting the continued Series of Providence, by which God had appeared in carrying on this Cauſe, ſince the famous Victory at Worceſter, and the Actings of the Army thereupon, after divers Applications to the Parliament, with the Grounds and Neceſſity of their Diſſolving, which he declared to be for the preſervation of this Cauſe, and the Intereſt of all honeſt Men engaged therein. He then told them of the clearneſs of the Call given to the Members then preſent, to takes upon them Supream Authority, and from the Scripture exhorted them to their Duty, deſiring that a Tenderneſs might be uſed toward all conſcientious Perſons of what Judgment ſoever.

Cromwel

Cromwel then produced an Instrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he devolved the Supream Authority and Government of the Common-wealth into the Hands of the Persons there met, who, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the Supream Authority of the Nation, unto whom all Persons within the same were to yield Obedience and Subjection, and that they should sit no longer than Nov. 3. 1654, and three Months before their Dissolution they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, who were not to sit above 12 Months, and then to provide for a Succession of Government, which Instructions being delivered them, the General with his Officers withdrew. From thence the Members adjourned to the Parliament-House at Westminster, and first considered what Title to take to themselves, and after three Days debate, resolved they would be called, The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, and chose Mr. Rouse their Speaker.

About this time John Lilburn, banished by an Act of the last Parliament for certain Crimes he was charged with, took occasion upon this change of Government to return into England, and call himself upon Gen. Cromwel, craving his Protection in several publick Addresses, who, declining to meddle in this Affair, left him to the Law, and he was committed to Newgate, and the next Sessions being brought to the Old Baily, he first demanded Council, which was granted him: Next Day he refused to put in his Plea, unless he might have a Copy of his Indictment, which was likewise admitted. Next Day he delivered in his Bill of Exceptions to this Indictment; after that he demanded a Copy of the Judgment given against him in Parliament, together with the Act: Then he joined Issue, and made his Defence for several Hours, and about 12 at Night the Jury brought him

him in Not Guilty, but he was ſent back to Newgate, and thence to the Tower, where he continued ſome time, and then turned Quaker, and dying ſoon after, was buried from the Bull and Mouth Meeting place by Alderſgate, with a numerous Company of that Party attending him to his Grave.

In Scotland at this time the Engliſh had taken moſt of their ſtrong Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, in the Low lands, yet the Highlanders made Incurſions, robbing and killing many, returning to their inacceſſible Fortreſſes, where they could not be purſued, being commanded by the Lords Glencarn, Athol, Seaforth, and others; the laſt of whom ſent a Summons to a Ship that lay at Anchor at Lewis-Iſland (having before ſurprized 7 or 8 Men that went aſhore for Proviſions) to deliver up the Veſſel for the King's Service.

But the Captain did not think fit to obey his Summons, ſailing away and leaving his Men behind. Thus they continued expecting Supplies of Men from Gen. Middleton, and the Low-Countries; but a Party under Glencarn were defeated, himſelf hardly eſcaping, and ſeveral other Parties, ſo that they could not join. At length Middleton arrived from Holland with the expected Proviſions, and a Commiſſion to be General, and Monroe to be Lieut. General; which ſo incenſed Glencarn, that he who had imploy'd his utmoſt Intereſt in raiſing Men, muſt now be commanded by others, that they quarrelled; Glencarn was contented to be Lieut. General, but Monroe would not agree to it, ſo a Duel was fought, in which Monroe being wounded and diſarmed, deſerted the Service with about 500 Gentlemen, and agreed with the Governor of Dunbarton to live peaceably at home; others did the like, yet Middleton ſtood out ſtill, till firſt in Argyle, and then at Lougbary, he was by Gen. Monk, and Coll. Morgan, wholly overthrown, and then returned to Holland. The Aſ-

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ſembly of the Kirk was likewiſe diſſolved by Col. Morgan, and the Clergy ſubjected.

Ireland was by the Engliſh Arms brought to ſuch a Condition, as there was no fear of Diſturbance, only a few Tories kept ſome inacceſſible Places, and made Irruptions to ſteal and plunder. An High Court of Juſtice was erected there, of which Cook was Preſident, by whom many Iriſh, and ſome of their ancient Nobility were ſentenced and executed for the bloody Maſſacre in 1641, about 14000 were ſold to the King of Spain, and many tranſported into other Countries, the reſt being driven into the Province of Connaught, out of which upon Pain of Death they were not to ſtir without leave. The other three Provinces, Ulſter, Munſter, and Lenſter, were allotted to the Engliſh, and all forfeited Lands divided among ſuch Adventurers as had advanced Money for the Iriſh Affairs, and for ſatisfaction of the Soldiers Arrears. Fleetwood ſucceeded Ireton as L. Governor of Ireland, by the Order of Cromwel, he having married his eldeſt Daughter Bridget, the Widow of the deceaſed Ireton.

The Hollanders finding little Advantage by the War, ſent four Commiſſioners to begin a Treaty, but there was no Ceſſation of Arms; ſo a remarkable Battle happened between the two Navies, July 29. 1653. The Scots diſcovered a Dutch Fleet from the Weilings of 95 Men of War, upon which the Engliſh made what ſail they could after them, which the Enemy perceiving, ſtood away; yet about 5 in the Evening, near 30 of the Engliſh engaged, the reſt of the Fleet being a-ſtern, ſo that they bore the whole brunt of the Fight till Night parted them. The Dutch ſent away their maimed Ships in the Night, and got by with their whole Fleet in order to join 25 Sail more in the Texel, which the Engliſh could not prevent becauſe of the foul Weather. Next Morning the Dutch with

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hese new Recruits fell upon the Engliſh Fleet; hey fought couragiouſly from 5 in the Morning ill 1 Afternoon, both Fleets paſſing through, nd endeavouring to burn, ſink, and deſtroy each ther. At length the Dutch went off, with the oſs of ſome Ships either ſunk or burnt: The Garand, a ſtout Man of War, taken formerly by the Dutch, was burnt by the Worceſter: The Triumph nd the Andrew were boarded by 3 Dutch Fireſhips, and had ſome Damage in their Sails, but were quickly cleared. The Dutch declining, made away directly for the Texel, and the Engliſh being ſomewhat diſabled, and not daring to venture too near the Holland Coaſts, the whole Fleet ſailed for Sole-Bay: The Engliſh Admirals in this Fight were Gen. Blake, and Gen. Monk; Pen was Vice-Admiral, and Lawſon Rear-Admiral. When Monk with the Engliſh Fleet ſet ſail, and ſtood out to Sea, the Dutch ſuppoſed they fled for fear, which made one of the Captains deſire Van Trump to purſue; *For, ſaith he, theſe Skellums dare not ſtand one Broadſide from your Excellency, you may ſee them plainly running Home, and therefore, my Lord, miſs not the Opportunity.* But Trump, who underſtood better, gave this ſhort Reply, *Sir look to your Charge, for were the Enemy but* 20 *Sail, they would never refuſe to fight us.* The Engliſh had 300 ſlain, whereof 7 were Captains, and 700 wounded, 5 of them Captains. The Dutch had about 30 Ships ſunk and burnt, and their renowned Admiral Van Trump was ſlain in the Fight, and out of the Dutch maimed Ships that lay floating on the Sea, the Engliſh took ſix Captains, and 1000 other Priſoners. This was the bloodieſt Engagement that had yet happened between the two Nations, and for their Valour and Conduct the Parliament ordered gold Chains to be given to Blake, Monk, Pen, and Lawſon, as a Mark of their Favour, and other Chains were beſtowed on the Flag Captains,

Captains, and Medals of Silver to the Officers of the Fleet. It was after known by Letters from Holland, that they loſt 6000 Men in this Battle.

The Parliament having ſate above 5 Months, in which they made ſeveral Acts, one for Marriages before a Juſtice of Peace, another for Relief of Priſoners, another againſt the High Court of Chancery, another for a Tax of 6 Months at 120000*l.* per Month, at length were conſulting of an Act for taking away Tythes, a Committee was appointed to conſider of the Matter, who brought in their Report Dec. 10. 1653. *That they thought it convenient that Commiſſioners be ſent into all the Countries, and enabled to eject ſcandalous and unable Miniſters, and alſo be impower'd to ſettle able Miniſters in all void Places: That ſuch as are, or ſhall be approved for publick Preachers of the Goſpel, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch Maintenance as is alſo by ſettled by the Laws, that upon hearing and conſidering what hath been offered to the Committee touching Propriety in Tythes, it is their Opinion that they have a legal Propriety in them.*

The Parliament having ſpent ſeveral Days upon this Report, put the Queſtion, Whether the Houſe doth agree with the Committee, which was carried in the Negative; whereupon ſeveral Heats and Diviſions aroſe; ſo Dec. 12. a Gentleman moved, *That the ſitting of the Parliament as then conſtituted, would not be for the good of the Common-wealth, and that it was requiſite to deliver up to the L. Gen. Cromwel the Powers they received from him. This Motion being ſeconded by others, the Houſe roſe, and the Speaker Mr. Rouſe, with the Majority of the Members, did, by a Writing under their Hands, reſign their Powers to Gen. Cromwel at Whitehall, by their Speaker, who thanked them for the Pains they had taken for the Service of the Common-wealth, though by a ſtrange Spirit and perverſe Principles in ſome of the Members,*

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they had miſſed of their good Intentions. Some of the Members continued ſtill ſitting in the Houſe, to whom Col. White was ſent with a Guard of Soldiers, and required them in the Name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was diſſolved, who replying, that they were upon Buſineſs, and ought not to be interrupted, he at length compelled them to leave the Houſe, though unwilling.

The Parliament having thus reſigned the Power given them, the whole Authority, both Civil and Military, of three Nations, was devolved into the Hands of O. Cromwel, who calling a Council of Officers, with ſome others, to conſult of the Settlement of the Government, they reſolved to have a Common-wealth in a ſingle Perſon: That the Perſon ſhould be Oliver Cromwel, Capt. General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, alledging, That it was not Monarchy which was quarrelled at, but the Male Adminiſtration and Abuſes therein, by its Prerogative being unlimited and arbitrary; all which would be avoided by circumſcribing it in a Protector and his Council, a new Inſtrument of Government, and the ſupream Power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their ſitting the ſoveraign Authority ſhould reſide. In purſuance whereof, a Council was appointed him to conſiſt of Twenty.

And the Inſtrument of Government deſigned to be the Foundation of this new Settlement, was to this effect.

That the Title of O. Cromwel ſhould be Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: That all Proceedings ſhall run in the Name and Stile of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices, and Titles to be derived from him: That he may pardon all Offences but Treaſon and Murder: That the Militia, during the Parliament, ſhall be in his and their Hands,

but in the Intervals only in his and his Councils. That he and his Council may make War and Peace with Foreign Princes: No new Laws to be made, nor old ones abrogated, without Consent of Parliament: A Parliament to be called within 6 Months, and afterwards every third Year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent of Parliament till after 5 Months: The Parliament of English to consist of 400, to be chosen by more equal Distributions in Countries and Boroughs: Of Scotch 30 to be elected, and of Ireland as many: The Writs for Election to pass under the Seal of the Common-wealth to the Sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny it, then the Commissioners of the Seal shall be obliged, under pain of High Treason, to issue out such Writs; and in Case of failure in them, the High Sheriffs then to do it. That such as are elected be returned into the Chancery: If the Sheriff, Mayor Bayliff, make a false Return, or any way procure an undue Election, he shall be fined 2000l. That none who have born Arms against the Parliament, Irish Rebels or Papists shall be capable of being elected; and in case they be elected, to forfeit two Years Revenue, and three Parts of their Goods: None are to be elected under the Age of 21 Years, nor unless he be a Man of good Conversation: None to have Votes in Election not worth 200l. That 60 shall make a Quorum: The Protector, if need be, may call Parliaments in the Intervals of the Triennial Ones. The Bills they make to be offered to the Protector, who refusing to sign them in 20 Days, they are to pass into Acts without his Consent: The Protector, with Advice of his Council, in Case of Death or Breach of Trust, is to substitute new Privy Counsellours: A competent Revenue shall be settled for maintaining 10000 Horse and 15000 Foot, and the Navy not to be altered or lessened without the Advice of the Council; and upon the disbanding of them, the Money to be brought into the Exchequer for sudden Occasions: No new Taxes nor Laws to be made without Consent in Parliament: All forfeited

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ands unſold to belong to the Protector: The Protectorate be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded: Cromwel to be preſent Protector: All the great Offices the Common-wealth, ſuch as Chancellor, &c. if they come void in Parliament time, to be ſupplied by their pprobation; or in Intervals of Parliament, with the pprobation of the Council. The Chriſtian Religion as is contained in the Holy Scriptures, to be the publick rofeſſion of the Nation, and thoſe that adminiſter in to be maintained by the Publick, but by ſome way ore convenient, and leſs liable to Envy than Tythes: one are to be compelled to conſent to the publick Proſſion by Fine, or any Puniſhment whatſoever, but only Perſuaſion and Arguments: None that profeſs Faith in eſus Chriſt are to be prohibited the exerciſe of their eligion, provided he do not diſturb others, except the apiſts and Prelatiſts, who are debarred that Licence: ll Sales of Eſtates, made by Parliament, and all Arcles of War to be made good: And laſtly, the Protor and his Succeſſor, upon entring that Charge, to ear to procure, by all means, the Peace, Quiet and elfare of the Common wealth; to obſerve theſe Artis, and to adminiſter all Things in his Power, accorng to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms of England.

Dec. 16. 1653, the Protector came from Whitell to the Chancery Court at Weſtminſter, attend by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, e Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges in their obes, the Council of the Common-wealth, the ord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of London, their Scarlet Gowns, and many of the chief fficers of the Army. A Chair of State being ſet, e Protector ſtood on the left Hand uncovered, till e Inſtrument was read, which he ſubſcribed in e Face of the Court, and then ſwore to perform follows:

I promiſe in the Preſence of God, not to violate or inge the Matters and Things contained in the Inſtru-, but to obſerve, and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved,

and in all Things to the best of my Understanding, will govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, and will seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administred.

He then sat down covered in the Chair, and the Lords Commissioners delivered him the Great Seal of England, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, which he returned: Then the Court rose, and the Protector was attended back as before to the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, the Lord Mayor bare-headed carrying the Sword before him, where an Exhortation being made by one of his Chaplains, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. And thus was the Protector confirmed in his High Dignity, tho many of his former Admirers were discontented thereat. But to command Obedience, the Council emitted the following Proclamation, which was published in England, Scotland and Ireland.

WHEREAS the late Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigned their Powers and Authorities; the Government by a Lord Protector, and successive elective Parliaments is now established: And whereas O. Cromwel Capt. General of all the Forces of this Common wealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof, We do therefore make publication of the Premises, and strictly charge and command all Persons whatsoever, in the three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and subject themselves to the Government so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation that none may have Cause to pretend Ignorance in this behalf.

The Protector being advanced to this Supreme Dignity, Addresses were presented to him, and the Poets of that Age were not wanting in magnifying him and his Actions. Among others Edmund Waller Esq; the English Virgil, harangued him in the following elegant Panegyrick:

To his Highneſs OLIVER Lord Protector, &c.

While with a ſtrong and yet a gentle Hand
You bridle Factions and our Hearts command,
Protect us from our ſelves and from our Foe,
Make us Unite and make us Conquer too;
Let partial Spirits ſtill aloud complain,
Think themſelves injur'd that they cannot Reign;
And own no Liberty but when they may
Without controul upon their Fellows prey.
Above the Waves as Neptune ſhow'd his Face,
To chide the Winds and ſave the Trojan Race:
So has your Highneſs, rais'd above the reſt,
Storms of Ambition toſſing us repreſt.
Your drooping Country, torn with civil Hate,
Reſtor'd by you, is made a glorious State,
The Seat of Empire where the Iriſh come,
And the unwilling Scot to fetch their Doom:
The Sea's our own, and now all Nations greet
With bending Sails each Veſſel of our Fleet.
Your Power extends as far as Winds can blow,
Or ſwelling Sails upon the Globe may go:
Heav'n that has plac'd this Iſland to give Law,
To ballance Europe, and her States to awe;
In this Conjunction does on Britain ſmile,
The greateſt Leader, and the greateſt Iſle.
Whether this Portion of the World were rent
By the rude Ocean from the Continent,
Or thus created; ſure it was deſign'd
To be the ſacred Refuge of Mankind.
Hither the Oppreſſed ſhall henceforth reſort
Juſtice to crave, and Succour at your Court,
And then your Highneſs, not for Ours alone,
But for the World's Protector ſhall be known.
Fame ſwifter than your winged Navy flies,
Thro' every Land that near the Ocean lyes,
Sounding your Name, and telling dreadful News
To all that Piracy and Rapine uſe.

With such a Chief the meanest Nation blest
Might hope to lift her Head above the rest:
What may be thought impossible to do,
For us embraced by the Sea and You.
Lords of the World's great Waste, the Ocean, w
Whole Forests send to reign upon the Sea,
And every Coast may trouble or relieve,
But none can visit us without our leave;
Angels and we have this Prerogative,
That none can at our happy Seat arrive,
While we descend at Pleasure to invade
The Bad with Vengeance, or the Good to aid.
Our little World the Image of the Great
Like that amidst the ambient Ocean's set,
Of our own Growth hath all that Nature craves
And all that's rare, as Tribute from the Waves.
As Egypt does not on the Clouds rely,
But to her Nile owes more than to the Sky;
So whatsoe'er our Earth and Heaven denies,
Our ever constant Friend the Sea supplies.
The Taste of hot Arabia's Spice we know,
Free from the scorching Sun that makes it grow.
Without the heat, in Persian Silks we shine;
And, without planting, drink of every Vine.
To dig for Wealth we weary not our Limbs;
Gold, tho' the heaviest Metal, hither swims.
Ours is the Harvest where the Indians mow:
We plough the Deep, and reap what others sow
Things of the noblest Kind our own Soil breeds,
Stout are our Men, and Warlike are our Steeds.
Rome, tho' her Eagle thro' the World has flown,
Could never make this Island all her own:
Here the third Edward and the Black Prince too,
France Conquering Henry flourisht; and now You
For whom we stay'd, as did the Grecian State,
Till Alexander came to urge their Fate;
When for more Worlds the Macedonian cry'd,
He wist not Thetis in her Lap did hide

Anothe

Another yet, a World reserv'd for you
To make more Great than that he did subdue;
He safely might old Troops to Battle lead,
Against the unwarlike Persian and the Mede:
Whose hasty Flight did from a bloodless Field,
More Spoil than Honour to the Victor yield,
A Race unconquer'd by their Clime made bold,
The Caledonians arm'd with Want and Cold.
Have by a Fate indulgent to your Fame,
Been from all Ages kept for you to tame;
Whom the old Roman Wall so ill confin'd,
With a new Chain of Garrisons you bind:
Here foreign Gold no more shall make them come,
Our English Iron holds them fast at home;
They that henceforth must be content to know
No warmer Region than their Hills of Snow;
May blame the Sun, but must extol your Grace,
Which in our Senate hath allow'd them place;
Prefer'd by Conquest, happily o'er thrown,
Falling they rise to be with us made One.
So kind Dictators made, when they came home,
Their vanquisht Foes, Free Citizens of Rome.
Like Favour find the Irish, with like Fate
Advanc'd to be a Portion of our State.
Whilst by your Valour and obliging Mind,
Nations divided by the Sea are join'd:
Holland to gain our Friendship is content
To be our Out guard on the Continent;
She from her Fellow Provinces would go,
Rather than hazard to have You her Foe.
In our late Fight, when Cannon did diffuse
(Preventing Polls) the Terror, and the News.
Our Neighbours they did tremble at the roar,
But our Conjunction makes them tremble more.
Your never failing Sword made War to cease
And now you heal us with the Arts of Peace,
Our Minds with Bounty and with Awe engage,
Invite Affection, and restrain our Rage;

Leſs Pleaſure take brave Minds in Battle won,
Than in reſtoring ſuch as are undone;
Tygers have Courage, and the ragged Bear,
But Man alone can when he conquers, ſpare;
To pardon willing, and to puniſh both,
You ſtrike with one Hand, but You heal with both,
Lifting up all that proſtrate lye, You grieve
You cannot make the Dead again to live.
When Fate or Error had our Rage miſled,
And o'er theſe Nations ſuch Confuſions ſpread,
The only Cure that could from Heaven come down,
Was ſo much Power and Clemency in one;
One whoſe Extraction from a noble Line,
Gives hopes again that well-born Men may ſhine,
The meaneſt, in your Nature, mild and good,
The nobleſt reſt ſecured in your Blood.
Much have we wondred, how you hid in Peace
A Mind proportion'd to ſuch Things as theſe.
How ſuch a ruling Spirit you could conſtrain
And Practice firſt over your ſelf to reign;
Your private Life did a juſt Pattern give
How Fathers, Husbands, pious Men ſhould live;
Born to Command, your princely Virtue ſlept,
Like humble David whilſt the Flock he kept;
But when your troubled Country call'd you forth,
Your flaming Courage and your matchleſs Worth,
Dazling the Eyes of all that did pretend
To fierce Contention gave a proſperous End:
Still as you riſe the State exalted too,
Finds no Diſtemper whilſt 'tis chang'd by you,
Chang'd like the World's great Scene, when without noiſe
The riſing Sun, Night's vulgar Light deſtroys:
Had you ſome Ages paſt this Race of Glory
Run, with Amazement we ſhould read the Story;
But living Virtue, (all Atchievements paſt)
Meets Envy ſtill to grapple with at laſt,
This Cæſar found and that ungrateful Age,
Which loſing him, fell back to Blood and Rage.

Miſ-

Miſtaken Brutus thought to break their Yoke
But cut the Bond of Union with that Stroke;
That Sun once ſet, a thouſand meaner Stars,
Gave a dim Light to Violence and Wars:
'Twas ſuch a Tempeſt as now threatens all,
Did not your mighty Arm prevent the Fall.
If Rome's great Senate could not weild the Sword,
Which of the conquer'd World had made them Lord,
What Hope had Ours, whilſt yet your Power was (new
To rule Victorious Armies but by you;
You that had taught them to ſubdue their Foes,
Could order, teach, and their high Spirits compoſe,
To every Duty could their Minds engage,
Provoke their Courage, and command their Rage:
So when a Lyon ſhakes his dreadful Main
And angry grows, if he that firſt took Pain
To tame his Youth, approach the haughty Beaſt
He bends to him, but frights away the reſt.
Then let the Muſes with ſuch Notes as theſe
Inſtruct us what belongs unto our Peace.
Your Battles they hereafter ſhall indite,
And draw the Image of our Mars in Fight,
Tell of Towns ſtorm'd, of Armies over-run,
And mighty Kingdoms by your Conqueſts won;
How while you thundred, Clouds of Duſt did choak,
Contending Troops, and Seas lay hid in Smoak:
Illuſtrious Acts high Raptures do infuſe,
And ev'ry Conqueror creats a Muſe:
Here in low Straits your milder Deeds we ſing,
But then (my Lord) we'll Bays and Olive bring,
To crown your Head, while you in Triumph ride
O'er conquer'd Nations, and the World beſide;
While all the neighbour Princes unto you,
Like Joſeph's Sheaves, pay reverence and bow.

The Protector began his Reign with ſeeming Serenity, and when the different Parties in Religion made their Complaints to him againſt each other,

he uſually told them, *That his Power was no greater in the Nation than a Conſtables, which was to keep Peace and Quietneſs among all Parties.* And purſuant to the Power given by the new Inſtrument, he ſupplies the ſeveral Courts at Weſtminſter with the ableſt Judges and Lawyers; and the City of London, to ſhew their Concurrence to this great Change, invite the Protector to Dinner at Grocer's Hall, Feb. 8. being Aſhwedneſday, the Streets were rail'd to Temple-bar, the Livery-men ſtanding in their Gowns; he was met at Templebar by Alderman Vyner Lord Mayor who delivered him the Sword, and received it again, bore it on Horſe-back bareheaded before him all the way. After a noble Entertainment he was ſerved with a Banquet; in the Concluſion whereof he Knighted Sir Tho. Vyner, and would have done the ſame to the Recorder Steel, but he declined it.

The Hollanders being weary of the Wars, which they had maintained with little Succeſs, and great Coſt, ſend Commiſſioners to treat with the Protector for a Peace between both Nations. But Cromwel knowing the Potency of Holland above the reſt, with their Averſion to the Houſe of Orange, he ſecretly treated with Beverning, That if the Province of Holland would ſign a private Article to exclude the Houſe of Orange, he would be content to proceed in a Treaty of Peace; and at length the States of Holland and Weſt-Friezland were forced to make a Decree, *That they would never Elect his Royal Highneſs William Prince of Orange (our late gracious Sovereign, then but three Years old) or any of his Lineage, to be Stadtholder or Admiral of their Province; nor, that he or any of his Family ſhould be Capt. General of the Forces of the United Provinces.* This ingrateful and unrighteous Decree againſt that glorious Family, which had ſaved them from utter Ruin, and made them the High and Mighty States, was too well performed, till

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ſome Years after, recalling it again, was the principal Means under God of preſerving them from the impending Deſtruction of their Republick by the French Arms. So at length Peace was concluded both with the Dutch and the King of Denmark; The Hollanders to pay the Charge of the War, Money being very neceſſary in this new Government; and in April it was proclaimed in London, the two Dutch Ambaſſadors making magnificent Treatments and Fireworks to demonſtrate their Satisfaction therein.

The Protector now ſends his eldeſt Son Henry into Ireland, of which he was made Lord Deputy, and Gen. Monk was ſent into Scotland. The Lord Whitlock who was ſent Ambaſſador, by the laſt Parliament, to the Queen of Sweden, had a new Commiſſion ſent him from the Protector, in whoſe Name he continued the Treaty with that Crown, and afterward finiſhed it. In March following, Monſieur Bordeux was ſent Ambaſſador to England from the French King, and Sir Ant. Aſhly Cooper, Coll. Sydenham, and Mr. Strickland, were appointed Commiſſioners by the Protector to treat with him, ſo that he was owned abroad as well as at home. K. Charles was then in the French Court, who finding that notwithſtanding his own and his Mother's Endeavours to the contrary, the Treaty between France and England was vigorouſly proſecuted by Cardinal Mazarine; and foreſeeing that if the Peace were concluded, he and his Party muſt be obliged to depart France, he thought it more honourable voluntarily to leave that Kingdom, than to ſtay till he were forced out by a Complement; ſo the King with his Brother the Duke of York, and his Couſins Prince Rupert and Edward, retired to Chatillon, a Houſe of the P. of Conde's, from whence the King and Prince Rupert went into Germany; and indeed it happened as they ſuſpected, for one of the Articles of the French King

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with the Protector was, That none of the Royal Family of England should reside in the Dominions of France.

In Feb. 1654. several Persons were committed to the Tower about a Conspiracy against the Protector, namely, Sir Gilb. Gerrard, Col. John Gerrard his Brother, the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Vowel a School-Master at Islington; and an High Court of Justice being erected, they were charged to design the Assassination of the Protector. So Col. Gerrard and Mr. Vowel were sentenced to be hanged, Mr. Vowel at Chairing-Cross, and Col. Gerrard who expressly denied the Intention of the Fact, was beheaded on Tower-Hill. With him upon the same Scaffold, but not upon the like Account, suffered Don Pantalion Sa, Brother to the Portugal Ambassador then Resident in England, who upon Conceits he had received some Affront on the New Exchange in the Strand, came thither one Evening with a Crew of Lacquies and Servants, armed with Pistols, Swords, and Hand Granadoes, and firing a Pistol killed one Mr. Greenway standing quietly at a Stall, and had done further Mischief if this Col. Gerrard had not stopped their Fury, and with his Sword drawn drove them all down Stairs. Upon hearing the Matter the Protector resolved the Murderers should suffer without respect of Persons; and though the Person that committed the Murder was a Knight of Malta, and had made his Escape, yet this Nobleman and the rest being Accessaries, he and four of the Ambassadors Servants were tried and found Guilty, with an Irish Youth. Don Pantalion was beheaded with Col. Gerrard, the Irish Boy was hanged at Tyburn, and the other four pardoned; and Peace being after concluded with the King of Portugal, the Ambassador sorrowfully departed.

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In the ſame Month a Ship fell accidentally on fire on Southwark ſide, as ſhe lay at Anchor, which being cut away, was driven by the Tide upon a Shelf near the Bridge, where ſhe ſtuck and blew up her Powder. There were 8 Perſons killed, one a Draper upon his Leads by the Plank of the Ship, and had the Blow been any higher, it might have endangered the Bridge it ſelf.

Sept. 3. 1654. the Protector in purſuance of the late Inſtrument of Government, called a Parliament at Weſtminſter, where there was an appearance of a number of grave judicious Perſons, To whom he ſpake to this Effect, *That there was now ſuch a hope that few could have thought of ſome Years ago. That before the preſent Government was erected, every Man's Heart and Intereſt ſeemed divided, and there was grown up a general Contempt of God and Chriſt; nay, the Ax was laid to the Root of the Miniſtry, and the fifth Monarchy highly cried up, and there was nothing but Confuſion in the Nation, ſwarms of Prieſts and Jeſuits daily arriving, and fomenting Diviſions againſt the publick Peace; that we were engaged in a War with Portugal, France, and Holland, and the Nation was in a heap of Diſorders; ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary a ſpeedy Remedy ſhould be applied thereto; which this Government had in a great Meaſure done, by making good Judges, ſettling an able Miniſtry, calling a free Parliament, making a free Peace with Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and very nigh with France: So he deſired them to ſettle Ireland, to avoid Confuſion, and to lay the Top-ſtone of this great Work of ſettling the Government, wherein he would willingly be a true Fellow Servant to them.*

After this Speech the Members repair to their Houſe, and choſe William Lenthal, Eſq; (Speaker of the late long Parliament) to be their Speaker: But the Protector's Harangue did little edify the greateſt Part of them; for they inſtantly fall upon a ſtrict Enquiry into Cromwel's Inſtrument of Govern-

Government; and put the Question whether the Legislative Power should be in a single Person, or a Parliament. The Officers of the Army and the rest of the Protector's Party, argue strenuously, That this Instrument was the Foundation of the present Settlement, and ought not to be a Question; and one added, That if this Parliament did not confirm it, they would call another, a third and a fourth, till it was done. This was as vigorously opposed by the Majority of the House; one Gentleman saying, That the Parliament could not but discern the Snares that were laid to destroy the Liberties of the People, and that as God had made him Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so he could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties shackled by another, whose Right to the Government was measured out no otherwise than by length of his Sword, which was the only thing that imboldened him to command his Commanders. Another said, That since we were so near approaching to Monarchy, it were better to call one of the Royal Family to the Government, than that Cromwel should usurp both the Sceptre and Crown.

This toucht Cromwel to the quick, so he goes in a heat, and tells them, That these Debates would turn all to Confusion; That they were to build upon the Foundation of the Instrument of Government, not to overturn it. But his Words not prevailing, the next Morning he set a Guard upon the House of Commons, and none were permitted to enter but those that would subscribe a Recognition; To be faithful to the Protector, and not to consent nor endeavour to change the Government of a single Person and a Parliament; which many of the Republicans refusing, the Protector's Party within Doors became near equal. But the secluded Republicans rather exasperated than subdued by this Repulse, join with their Friends in the Army, and consult how to appre-

prehend Cromwel, and bring him to Tryal for his Treaſons againſt the Common-wealth. But Cromwel diſcovered and prevented it by diſſolving the Parliament, when they had ſat juſt five Months.

This Diſſolution encouraged the moſt oppoſite Parties to conſpire againſt the Protector, that is, the 5th Monarchy Men and Royaliſts; the firſt expected King Jeſus, or the erecting of a 5th Kingdom; the ſecond longed for the Reſtoration of King Charles; And, the Protector's Favourers deſired King Oliver. Every Party manifeſted their Impatience, yet none of them could attain their Wiſhes, but when Oliver might afterwards, yet he thought it not ſafe. The Protector was not ignorant of their Deſigns, and reſolved firſt to deal with the weakeſt, for finding this Military Principle ſpread in the Army, he ſent Gen. Harriſon, Col. Rich, Col. Carew, and Churtney, Priſoners to remote Caſtles, and Gen. Monk had order to ſeize M. Gen. Overton, and M. Bramſton, Holmes and other Officers, and caſhire them. Overton was ſent up Priſoner to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Col. Morgan, Col. Okey's Regiment was given to the L. Howard; Cornet, now Col. Joyce was likewiſe diſmiſt, having reproached Cromwel to his Face with his Services. And thus the Danger from the Army was quickly ſuppreſſed.

But the Deſign of the Royaliſts or Cavaliers would have been more formidable, had not the whole Contrivance been diſcovered to the Protector by one Manning, who was with K. Charles in Germany, and a Spy upon all his Actions, ſo that Cromwel knew the Riſe, Progreſs, and firſt Appearance of thoſe in Arms againſt him, without being ſurprized, though all the Gentlemen of that Party in England, were one way or other engaged, or at leaſt privy to it, but the ſeizing the princi-

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pal of them throughout the Kingdom a little before the Execution, frustrated the probable Effects of that Insurrection. The L. Mayor was sent for and acquainted with it, and the Militia settled, Skippon being made Major General: All Horse Races forbidden, and several dissolute Persons seized upon Suspicion: Counter-plots were used, all sorts of Ammunition being sent down to several Gentlemen's Houses, with Letters without Names, and the Gentlemen for not discovering them secured. Yet notwithstanding all these Discouragements, the Western Association thought themselves engaged in Honour to rise upon the Day appointed, and which they had signified to K. Charles, who was come from Colen to the Sea Coasts in order to have passed over to his Friends with the first Opportunity. Accordingly March 11. 1654, a Party of 200 under Sir Jos. Wagstaff, Col. Penruddock and Grove marched into Salisbury, where the Judges Rolls and Nicols were sitting at the Assize, and seized all their Horses, declaring the Cause of their Appearance, without further Injury, or taking any Money, which lay in Serjeant Maynards and other Lawyer's Chambers, promising to return and break their Fasts with the Judges Provisions, which they did, and increased their Number to 400, the whole City being well affected to them. Thence they marched to Blanford, where Col. Penruddock proclaimed the King in the Market-place, and so marched Westward; Capt. Butler, with 2 Troops of Cromwel's Horse, following at a distance in their Rear, to give them Opportunity of increasing, but by the Protector's taking up so many before, very few came in, and many deserted when they saw no Hopes of the number of 4000 which was promised and expected.

Col. Penruddock finding his Affairs desperate, resolved to try Devonshire and Cornwal, and about

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100 of the moſt reſolute, without ſtaying any where, came hungry, ſleepy, and weary, to Southmolton in Devonſhire, hoping to get away by Sea, but that Night their Quarters were beaten up by Capt. Crook, and ſome Horſes forced, but Col. Penruddock maintained his Quarters till he had articled with the Captain, and then ſurrendered; with him were taken Col. Jones, a Kinſman of Cromwel's, Col. Grove, and 60 other Priſoners, with 120 Horſe, but Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff, Mr. R. Maſon, Eſq; Clark, and Mr. Tho. Mompeſſon, eſcaped beyond Sea, and ſo this Riſing was ſuppreſt. There were ſome appearances of the like at Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamſhire, at Haſſammoor in Yorkſhire, and in the Counties of Montgomery and Cumberland, for which ſome few were executed, but thoſe weak Efforts came to nothing, and the King's Reſtoration which was mightily expected at this time, proved unſucceſsful. After which the King diſcovered the Treachery of Manning upon this Occaſion; ſome Gentlemen going for England came to Colen to take leave of the King, to whom the King wiſhed a good Journey, and Proſperity to their Deſign; when they arrived in England, they were ſeized and examined before the Protector's Council, whether they did not ſpeak with the King ſuch a Day, repeating at the ſame time what paſt between them. Advice hereof being ſent the King, he recollected that none but Col. Tuke and Manning, who held the Candle were preſent at this Paſſage: He declared the whole Matter to the Colonel, who much ſurprized, proteſted his Innocency, and by the King's Command went directly to Manning's Chamber, and not ſtaying opening the Door, forced it, and found him chewing of Papers, and a Packet by him newly come from Thurloe, the Protector's Secretary; at which Manning was ſo aſtoniſhed, he could not ſpeak a Word. His Father was killed in the King's Service, and himſelf had

had been Secretary to the Earl of Pembroke, and so was intrusted with the King's Secrets. At the Instance of the whole Court, the King ordered him to be shot to Death in one of the Castles of the D. of Newbourgh. The Protector had drawn 4000 Foot from Ireland, and 600 Horse from Scotland, but upon quelling this Rising, they were remanded. Col. Penruddock and Col. Grove were beheaded, and seven other Persons were hanged at Exeter.

The Protector had been long preparing for some notable Enterprize, and every one fearing their own States, could not guess whether this Design tended: At length those vast Preparations produced 2 mighty Fleets, one under Gen. Blake, which was fitted only for the Sea, and sent to the Streights; the other two Months after was comitted to Gen. Pen, who was to take aboard him an Army under Gen. Venables. These Land Forces being about 3000, were divided into 30 Sail of Men of War, but had not Provisions for so great an Army; the Commanders not knowing whither, nor how far they were to go.

Dec. 12. 1654, this Fleet set sail from Portsmouth, directly to the Barbadoes, where the General broke open their Commissions, whether having a fair Wind, they arrived Jan. 29. and landed all their Men in Carlisle Bay.

The departure of these two great Fleets caused the King of Spain, who doubted they were design'd against him, to send the Marquis de Leda, Governor of Dunkirk, into England, as Extraordinary Ambassador, to penetrate into this grand Court Secret, but having spent several Days after his Arrival without receiving that Satisfaction he desired, he returned back.

Whilst the Fleet was at Barbadoes, the Officers were diligent in their Charges, and caused the Shallop brought from England ready framed, to be

set

ſet up, and the Water Casks to be trimmed: Two Frigats are ſent to St. Chriſtophers and Nevis, to raiſe Men to compleat their Regiments, & form Regiments out of the Seamen to ſerve upon Occaſion. At length they ſhip'd 6000 Men, and a Troop of Horſe raiſed by the Barbadians at their own Charge, and ſailing thence March 31. 1655, in 6 Days arrived at St. Chriſtophers, where they had a Recruit of 1300 Volunteers, moſt Servants to the Planters, who willingly engaged, becauſe their Service went on, and they might after be as free as their Maſters, ſo that tho' the Fleet was ſtrengthened by ſeizing 20 Dutch Ships, trading there contrary to Articles, yet they were all full, though there were ſcarce Proviſions for half the Number, if any Accident ſhould happen. From hence they ſteered for Hiſpaniola, and April 13. 1655, came in ſight of St. Domingo, the principal Town againſt which they chiefly deſigned. A Council of War being called, it was concluded, Venables ſhould land his Forces, ſo next Day he ſent aſhore 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horſe, and 3 Days Proviſion, about 10 Leagues Weſt of the Town. The Soldiers were even raviſhed with hopes of the Mountains of Gold they ſhould obtain, which put univerſal Courage into the whole Army, ſo that there appeared a certainty of Victory. But the General, whether by Order, or to engroſs all to himſelf, ſoon quelled their Expectations, making proclamation, That upon taking St. Domingo, no Man ſhall preſume to plunder either Money, Plate, or Jewels, or to take or kill any tame Cattle upon Pain of Death. This defeated the whole Deſign, the Soldiers being unwilling to endanger themſelves when there was no proſpect of Advantage; however, they were obliged to march forward, though with much Difficulty, paſſing thro' ſuch thick Woods that they were forced to cut their Way, and could not find a drop of freſh Water, ſo that with the

Drought cauſed by the exceſſive heat of the Sun, which even pierced their Brains, and their diſcontent of Mind (for Sorrow is dry) moſt of them were faint and diſabled.

Having in two Days got thro' the Woods, without oppoſition from the Spaniards, they at length joined Col. Bullard's Brigade of the three Regiments of Foot whom Adm. Pen had landed on the ſide of the Bay, two Leagues from the Town, near a River of freſh Water, being the appointed Rendezvouz of the whole Body, which now conſiſted in 10000 Men, but moſt ſo weak as hardly able to go, much leſs to fight, yet being joined they marched on, not doubting but to take the Town. A Forlorn Hope of 500 Men, under Capt. Cox, the chief Guide to this Place, advanced firſt, after whom followed the whole Army; being within 4 Miles of the Town, a ſmall Party of Horſe encounter the Forlorn, and in an inſtant force them through the next Regiment, which they likewiſe put to flight, and had ſlain moſt of them, but that the whole Army came up to their relief. After which the Spaniards marched back to their Fort in good Order, and with little Loſs, 50 Engliſh were ſlain, beſides Capt. Cox their Guide.

The General hereupon retreats to the River, to refreſh his Men with Water, reſolving once more to attempt carrying the Town, cauſing ſcaling Ladders to be made, and two ſmall Drakes, with a Mortar-piece to be landed from the Fleet, and conveyed by Water near the Town: All things prepared, they march forward, ſome Guides undertaking to carry them a private Way out of danger of the Fort, but miſſing it, they fell into the ſame Path, and into worſe Miſchief than before, for the Spaniards having notice of their March by the Negroes and Mulattoes, reſolved to entertain them in their Paſſage, and April 25. the whole Army approaching near a Brick Fort, having 9 Cannon,

and

and 300 Men, they were ſuddenly charged by a Party hid among the Trees, who tho' not above 70, firſt fired a Volley of ſhot upon the Forlorn, and then flew in upon the Engliſh, already weary, and near choaked with Thirſt, and with their Steel Lances routed in a Moment both them and the General's Regiment, with near half the Army, who flying back into the Rear, poſſeſt them with ſuch a pannick Fear that every one ſhifted for himſelf, the Spaniards purſuing with great ſlaughter, finding no reſiſtance but from M. Gen. Hains, who ſold his Life at a dear Rate, fighting in the midſt of his Enemies; at length the Spaniards weary of killing, retreated with 7 Engliſh Colours. Of the Engliſh 600 were ſlain on the Place, 300 wounded, and 200 fled into the Woods, and were knocked on the Head by the Mulattoes and Negroes.

Upon this Diſaſter, the Army that Night drew up to the Spaniſh Fort, and planted a Mortar againſt it, all things being ready for a Battery, when on a ſudden the Army was commanded to draw off, and without doing any Damage marched to their old watering place the Bay, where being arrived and wanting Victuals, they were forced to go out in Parties to fetch it, ſome never returning, being killed by the Negroes, till at laſt they by Famine eat the Horſes of their own Troop. In this miſerable State they continued ſome Days; at length it was reſolved they ſhould all go aboard, and in 10 Days they arrived in the chief Port of Jamaica, called Oriſtano, where they had better Succeſs, ſoon poſſeſſing the Town. And then the Army began to plant. This was the firſt planting of this gallant Iſland by the Engliſh, which has ſince grown ſo rich and populous; and they gained it the more eaſily, becauſe at their landing it was reſolved by a Council of War, that if any Man turned his Back to the Enemy, his bringer up ſhould kill him: And the Spaniards having no Intelligence

of

of their late Overthrow at Hilpaniola, nor ſuſpecting any Hoſtility, fled at the approach of this formidable Army, with their Goods into the Woods, by a pretended Treaty with the Engliſh; Parties were ſent to follow them, and to kill Cattle for the Army, of which they found ſtore without Fighting, to their great Relief. Soon after, the Generals Pen and Venables arrived in England, and the Protector in reward of their Services, committed them both Priſoners to the Tower.

Gen. Blake who was ſent to the Streights with a gallant Fleet to ſcour the Seas of Turkiſh Pirates who had deſtroyed many Engliſh Ships, firſt ſeeks them out at Sea, but not finding them reſolves to go home to them, and March 10. 1655, arrives at Algiers, anchoring without the Mold, ſends a Meſſenger to demand Satisfaction of the Dey, for the Depredations committed on the Engliſh, and requiring the delivery of the Captives of our Nation. The Dey providing a large Preſent of Beef, Mutton, and other freſh Proviſions alive, returns the Meſſenger with them and this Anſwer to the General; *That the Ships and Captives already taken belonged to particular Men, and it lay not in his Power to reſtore them without the general Diſcontent of all his Subjects; yet the Engliſh Captives ſhould be redeemed at a reaſonable Price, and that if the General thought good, they would conclude a Peace, and for the future offer no Acts of Hoſtility to any Engliſh Ships or Natives.* This Anſwer ſeeming ſatisfactory to the General, the Captives were redeemed, and a Peace concluded.

Gen. Blake ſails next to Tunis, ſending a Summons to the Dey, but received a diſobliging Anſwer; for having ſecured their Ships, as they imagined, under their Caſtles, they in Scorn ſent Word, *Here are the Caſtles of Goletta, and our Ships and Caſtles of Porto Ferino, do your worſt, but do not think*

think that we are affrighted at the ſight of your Fleet. This Reply exaſperated the General and Seamen, and to be reveng'd a Council of War being called, it was reſolved to burn the 9 Ships in Porto Ferino, which they effected; for every Ship's Boat being mann'd with reſolute Mariners, were ſent into the Harbour to fire the Ships, whilſt the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, play Broadſides continually on the Caſtle to prevent their ſinking the Boats, who after a brave Aſſault burnt the Ships, and return only with th loſs of 25 Men, and 48 wounded. This daring Action of Blake reſounded to the Honour of the Engliſh Nation, as far as the Grand Seignior's Court at Conſtantinople.

About this time Chriſtiana, Queen of Sweden, to the Admiration of all Europe, reſigned up the Crown and Kingdom to her Kinſman Carolus Guſtavus, being contented from a mighty Princeſs to put herſelf into the Condition of a Lady Errant, deſiring only theſe Conditions might be granted her from her Succeſſor: 1. *That ſhe retain a good Part of her Kingdom and the Cuſtoms to herſelf.* 2. *That ſhe will be no Subject, but abſolutely Free without Controul.* 3. *That ſhe will travel whether ſhe pleaſeth.* To theſe Prince Charles made this Reply, 1. *That he would not be a King without a Kingdom.* 2. *That he will have no Rival or Superior.* 3. *That he will not hazard himſelf about her Deſigns abroad.* However theſe Differences were ſo accommodated, that ſhe reſigned her Kingdom, leaving to herſelf only the bear Title of Queen, but to him both the Title of King and Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom. With this new Kingdom the Lord Whitlock, who had been ſometime Ambaſſador there, concluded a firm League Offenſive and Defenſive between theſe two Nations, the Effects whereof had appeared in Chriſtendom, had Cromwel lived much longer than he did.

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The horrible Massacre committed at this time upon the Protestants in Piedmont and Savoy, by the Forces of that Duke under the Marquis of Patella, occasioned the Protector to appoint a Fast, and great Sums of Money were gathered in England, and remitted to Sir Sam. Morland for their Relief.

About this time happened an Accident that had like to have put a Period to his Protectorship and Life together. Being much troubled with the Stone, he used to drink a quantity of several sorts of Liquor, and then stir up his Body by some violent kind of Motion, as riding hard on Horseback, or jolting in a Coach, by such Agitation to disburthen his Bladder. So one Day he and his Secretary Thurloe went privately by themselves to use this Exercise in a Coach in Hyde Park; when they were come thither, Cromwel himself got up into the Coach-box, drawn by 6 stout Horses, lately presented him by the Count of Oldenburgh, a German Prince. But so soon as he began to snap his Whip, the Horses run away, and the Postilion who was to guide them, being thrown off the fore Horse, they fall a fretting, and grow unruly; and not knowing their Master, tos's the new Driver from his Seat upon the Pole, who falling from thence upon the Ground, and being intangled in his Coat, was dragged up and down, having received many bruises, and a Pocket-pistol going off in his Pocket, his Coat was rent, and he was in the very Jaws of Death; but a Troop of Guards that waited without the Gate, hastening to his Assistance, preserved his Life.

The Protector to secure himself from Insurrections, constitutes new kind of Officers, called Major Generals of Counties, dividing the Kingdom in eleven Parts; for Kent and Surrey, Col. Kelsey; for Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, Col. Goff; for Wilts, Glocester, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwal,

Cornwal, Col. Desborow; for Oxfordshire, Bucks, Hartford, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, L. Gen. Fleetwood; for the City of London, M. Gen. Skippon; for Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicestershire, Commissary Gen. Whaley; for Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, and Huntington, Maj. Gen. Butler; for Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North Wales, Col. Berry; for Cheshire, Stafford, and Lancashire, Col. Wortley; for Durham, Cumberland, York, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, L. Lambert; for Westminster, and Middlesex, Col. Barkstead, Lieut. of the Tower. The greatest Service they did, was to oblige Delinquents to pay in the Tenths of their Estates for old Offences, and influence of Elections of Parliament Men, but in a short time he dismissed them again.

Another Design of the Protector's was the Admission of the Jews into England, for which it was said they offered 20,000*l.* So he proposes it to several Judges and Ministers; many Arguments were used for and against it, several Places of Scripture cited, and divers Conferences held about it, with Dr. Manton, Mr. Jenkins and others, who yet were not satisfied with the Arguments of Manasseh Ben Israel the Jewish Agent, though the Protector alledged, *That since there was a Promise for their Conversion, means must be used to that End, which is the preaching of the Gospel, and that cannot be had, unless they be permitted to reside where the Gospel is preached; but in Conclusion, the publick re admission of them was laid aside, as a Thing decried both by the Clergy and Laity.*

The Spaniards having Intelligence of the repulse of the English at Hispaniola, and their Possession of Jamaica, thought this a sufficient Breach of the Peace (though there was never any Peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all English Ships he could meet with and master

that traded there) and seized all the Merchants, Persons and Goods then in Spain, so that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The Protector thereupon orders the Generals Blake and Montague to block up Cadiz, the chief Port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the Plate Fleet used Yearly to come. He likewise concludes a Peace with France (which was at War with Spain a long time) by the Interest of Cardinal Mazarine, the French King (as you have heard) banishing all the Royal Family of England (except the Queen Mother) out of his Dominions, at the desire of Cromwel, and by the Instigation of that Cardinal.

The English Fleet under Montague and Blake, had for some Months in a manner besieged Cadiz by Sea, but could by no Provocation oblige the Spaniards to fight them, who hoping that the English having suffered the Fatigues of the Sea, would be forced to depart for want of Provisions, thought it better Policy to lose a little Honour, rather than to venture after Men and Ships against those who had mainted such terrible Sea-fights against the Hollanders; but the English found in Weyers Bay in Portugal, a convenient Supply of Water and Provisions, which was much near than was imagined. Hither were the Generals gone for fresh Water and Provisions, having only left a Squadron of 7 Ships under Capt. Stainer, before the Port of Cadiz, to observe all Ships passing in or out; as they were thus plying for some Days, it happened that a stiff gale of Wind forced Capt. Stainer out to Sea, where he espied part of the King of Spain's Plate Fleet coming from the West-Indies, and making directly for Cadiz; he was somewhat to the Leeward, but made toward them with all the Sail possible, and after some Hours with much Labour the Captain in the Speaker, with the Bridgwater and Plymouth Frigats, got up to them, the other four

four Ships not being able to come up, and preſently engaged them; the Spaniſh Fleet conſiſted in 8 tall Ships or Galleons, yet in a ſhort time they were wholly ſpoiled. One was ſunk, 3 burnt, 2 run aſhore and were bulged, 1 eſcaped, and 2 fell into the Hands of the Engliſh, 1 whereof had a great quantity of Cockeweal and Plate in her, the other were chiefly laden with Hydes. In theſe Ships many Perſons of Quality were taken, and among others, the 2 Sons of the Marquiſs of Badajox, who had been Governor of Peru, and having gained a great Eſtate in New Spain, was now returning to live the remainder of his Days in his own Country, he, and his Wife and Daughter, were burnt in one of the Ships, of which, and the War with Spain, with the preſent Victory, hear what the Poet Laureat of that Age elegantly ſings:

Upon the War with Spain, and a Victory at Sea.

Now for ſome Ages had the Pride of Spain
Made the Sun ſhine on half the World in vain,
Whilſt ſhe bid War to all that durſt ſupply
The Place of thoſe her Cruelty made dye.
Of Nature's Bounty Men forbore to taſte:
And the beſt Portion of the Earth lay waſte;
From the New World her Silver and her Gold,
Came like a Tempeſt to confound the Old;
Feeding with theſe the brib'd Electors Hopes,
Alone ſhe gave us Emperors and Popes:
With theſe advancing her unjuſt Deſigns,
Europe was ſhaken with her Indian Mines.
When our Protector looking with Diſdain,
Upon this gilded Majeſty of Spain,
And knowing well that Empire muſt decline
Whoſe chief Supports and Sinews are of Coin,
Our Nations ſolid Virtues did oppoſe,
To the rich Troubles of the World's Repoſe.

And now some Months encamping on the Main,
Our Naval Army had besieged Spain:
They that the whole World's Monarchy design'd,
Are to their Ports by our bold Fleet confin'd.
From whence our red Cross they Triumphant see
Riding without a Rival on the Sea.
Others may use the Ocean as their Road,
The English only make it their Abode,
Whose ready Sails with every Wind can fly,
And make a Covenant with the unconstant Sky.
Our Oaks secure as if they there took Root;
We tread on Billows with a steady Foot:
Mean while the Spaniards in America,
Near to the Line the Sun approaching saw,
And hoped their European Coasts to find,
Clear'd from our Ships by the Autumnal Wind.
Their huge capacious Gallions stuff'd with Plate,
The labouring Winds drive slowly to their Fate.
Before St. Lucar they their Guns discharge,
To shew their Joy and to invite a Barge:
This heard some Ships of ours (tho' out of View)
As swift as Eagles to the Quarry flew.
So harmless Lambs, that for their Mother bleat,
Wake hungry Lyons, and become their Meat.
Arriv'd, they soon begin the tragick Play,
And with their smoaky Cannon banish Day;
Night, Horror, Slaughter, with Confusion meets,
And in their sable Arms embrace the Fleets:
Thro' yielding Planks the angry Bullets fly,
And of one Wound hundreds together dye:
Born under different Stars one Fate they have,
The Ship their Coffin and the Sea their Grave.
Bold were the Men that on the Ocean first
Spread their new Sails, when Shipwreck was the worst.
More Danger now from Men alone we find
Than from the Rocks, the Billows, and the Wind.
They that sail'd from near th' Antartick Pole,
Their Treasure safe, and all their Vessels whole,

In ſight of their dear Country ruin'd be
Without the guilt of either Rock or Sea:
What they would ſave, our fiercer Art deſtroys,
Surpaſſing Storms in Terror and in Noiſe.
Once Jove from Ida did both Hoſts ſurvey,
And when he pleas'd to Thunder part the Fray.
Here Heav'n in vain, that kind Retreat would found,
The louder Cannon had the Thunder drown'd.
Some were made Prize, while others burnt and rent,
With their rich Lading to the bottom went;
Down ſinks at once: So Fortune with us ſports,
The pay of Armies, and the pride of Courts.
Vain Man whoſe Rage buries as low that Store
As Avarice had digg'd for it before.
What Earth in her dark Bowels could not keep
From greedy Hands, lies ſafer in the Deep.
Where Thetis kindly doth from Mortals hide
Thoſe Seeds of Luxury, Debate, and Pride.
And now, into our Hands, the richeſt Prize
Falls with the nobleſt of our Enemies;
The Marquiſs, glad to ſee the Fire deſtroy
Wealth the prevailing Foe was to enjoy,
Out from his flaming Ship his Children ſent,
To periſh in a milder Element,
Then laid him by his burning Lady's Side,
And ſince he could not ſave her, with her dy'd:
Spices and Gums about them melting fry,
And Phœnix like in that rich Neſt they dye:
Alive in Flames of equal Love they burn'd,
And now together into Aſhes turn'd.
Aſhes more worth than all their funeral Coſt,
Than the huge Treaſure that with them was loſt.
Theſe dying Lovers and their floating Sons,
Suſpend the Fight, and ſilence all our Guns;
Beauty and Youth about to periſh, finds
Such noble Pity in brave Engliſh Minds,
That they the Spoil neglecting, and the Prize,
All labour now to ſave their Enemies:

How frail's our Passion? How soon changed are,
Our wrath and fury to a friendly Care.
They that but now for Honour and for Plate
Made the Sea blush with Blood forget their Hate;
And while their Foes from perishing they retrieve,
With greater Danger than they fought they dive.
With these returns victorious Montague,
With Laurel in his Hands, and half Peru:
Let our brave Generals deride that Bough,
Our great Protector hath such Wreaths enow;
His conquering Head hath no more room for Bays:
Then let it be as the whole Nation prays,
Let the rich Oar forthwith be melted down
And the State fixt by making him a Crown.
With Purple cloath'd and Ermine, let him hold
A Royal Sceptre made of Spanish Gold.

The Protector was highly pleased at this Success, and great Booty, and a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed for it: And soon after Gen. Montague with the young Marquis, and part of the Fleet to convoy the Silver, which amounted to two Millions of Pieces of Eight, returned into England, and delivered the Bullion into the Mint, and the young Marquis and his Brother were set at Liberty. But the Spanish War being like to prove chargeable notwithstanding this Supply, the Protector being still necessitated for Money, and desiring to have his Power confirm'd to him by the People, in hope a new Representative might grant him what the former denied, he issues out Writs for the Election of a new Parliament, wherein much Circumspection was used, if possible, to prevent some of the former House from being chosen.

Sept. 17. 1656, this Parliament met at Westminster, and had a Sermon preached before them at the Abby-Church. After Sermon the Members went to the House, but found at the Door a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his Hand, de-

demanding the Names of every one, and ſuch as were marked for Non-admittance were turned back, & a Promiſe impoſed upon every individual Member before he ſhould be permitted to ſit in the Houſe, That he would not act any thing prejudicial to the preſent Government; which many refuſed, and returned home; but the major Part aſſenting to it, entred the Houſe, and choſe Sir Tho. Widdrington Speaker, and not minding thoſe that were excluded, referred the Approbation of them to the Protector's Council. They then proceeded according to the Protector's Deſire, making an Act, diſannulling the Title of Charles Stuart to the Government of theſe three Nations, *Nemine Contradicente*; another for making it Treaſon for any to attempt, compaſs, or imagine, the Protector's Death, appointing ſuch Offenders to be tried not by a Jury of 12 ſufficient Men, but by a High Court of Juſtice; a 3d for an Aſſeſſment on England, Scotland, and Ireland, of 70000 *l.* per Month for 3 Years; an Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and ten Miles about London, a whole Years Revenue to be paid for all Dwellings and Out-houſes, raiſed upon any new Foundation ſince 1620. An Act for exerciſe of Merchandize imported. An Act for puniſhing ſuch as lived at high Rates, and have no viſible Eſtates. And laſtly, for the Obſervation of the Lord's Day. When theſe Acts were ready for ſigning, the Protector came to the Painted Chamber, and ſent for the Parliament, where the Speaker tendring them to him, at the ſigning them he ſpake thus:

Mr. Speaker, I perceive that among theſe many Acts of Parliament, there hath been very great Care had by the Parliament to provide for the juſt and neceſſary Support of the Commonwealth, by theſe Bills for levying Money now brought to me, which I have given my Conſent unto, and underſtanding it hath been the Practice of thoſe who have been chief Governors, to acknowledge with

Thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publick, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindness herein.

Let us now relate a daring Attempt performed by Gen. Blake about this time. This valiant Commander lying with his Fleet near Cadiz, had Advice that the Spanish West-India Fleet was put into the Port of Sancta Cruze in Teneriff the chief Isle of the Canaries: So the Fleet weighed, and April 20. 1657, came to the Mouth of Sancta Cruze Bay, where they saw 16 Spanish Ships lying almost like an half Moon. At the North of the Haven is a Castle fortified with Cannon, besides 7 Forts more, with 3, 4, and 6 Guns apiece, so that the Enterprize seemed dangerous, if not desperate: Don Diego d'Aquies had caused all the small Ships to be moored all along the Shore to secure them, the 6 great Gallions lay further off at Anchor, with their Broadsides towards the Sea. Blake perceiving all this, calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to attack them without any thought of Danger; Capt. Stainer in the Speaker, presently falls upon the Ships, disregarding the Number of Shot which came thundring from the Forts on every side as thick as Hail, and maintains near an Hours Fight, till the Generals Blake and Montague having ordered some Frigats to ply the Forts and Breast-works with continual Broadsides, came up, and with all their Force attack'd the Spaniards, who after four Hours gallant Resistance were driven out of their Ships, which the English could not bring away, and so were forced to burn 16 small and great. This gallant Attempt cost the English but 48 Men, and 120 wounded. The Spaniards, besides the loss of their whole Fleet, had several hundreds of Men slain on the Shore, and in the Forts and Works, besides those killed in the Ships.

For

For this notable Exploit, the Protector, by Order of Parliament, ſent a Diamond Ring worth 500 *l.* as a Preſent to Gen. Blake; and Capt. Rich. Stainer who led on the firſt Squadron, was at his Return, for this and his former Services, Knighted by the Protector.

At this time one Miles Syndercomb, an Officer formerly in Scotland under M. Gen. Overton, was ſeized and accuſed to deſign to take away the Life of the Protector, in combination with a diſguiſed Perſon, ſaid to be a Prieſt ſent from Don Alonſo in Flanders, who was engaged as principal. It was alledged, that ſeveral Houſes were taken to ſhoot the Protector, with Engines, Blunderbuſſes, and other Fire Arms, at his going to the Parliament, or in the way to Hampton Court, and that the Chappel at Whitehall was to be fired with a ſtrong combuſtible Matter. This Account Secretary Thurloe delivered to the Parliament in ſuch moving Terms, that the Houſe ordered a Day of Thankſgiving, and a Narrative of the Plot to be publiſh'd, and went in a Body to congratulate his Highneſs's happy Delivery, where Sir Tho. Widdrington their Speaker declared, 1. *The Danger and Ruin of the reformed Churches abroad, and three Nations at Home, who were ſtruck at by this Blow.* 2. *The cunning Secrecy of it, that no more than two ſhould be privy to this wicked Deſign.* 3. *The Extenſiveneſs of it; reſolving if they failed in one Place, to do it in another, ſo that if Cicero were living, he would want Expreſſions to ſet out the Danger and the Miſery, and it being ſo unparallel'd and more unprecedented a Deliverance, the Parliaments Hymn ought to be, O Cantemus Canticum Novem, O let us ſing a new Song unto the Lord, bleſs his Name, ſhew forth his Salvation this Day, for he hath done marvelous Things, his right Hand and his holy Arm hath gotten him the Victory.*

Syndercomb, the next Term, was by the direction of the Parliament, try'd for this Treason at the King's Bench-Bar. He denied the Plot, but the Evidence swearing positively against him, he was convicted upon the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. Justice Glyn declaring, That by the King was understood any chief Magistrate of the Nation. He was carried thence to the Tower, where the Night before his Execution it was supposed he poisoned himself, as the Coroner's Jury brought in their Verdict. He went well to Bed, desiring half an Hours privacy for his Prayers, which being elapsed, he opened the Door, and rubbing his Hands together and his Nose with them, he briskly bid them good Night, and being found dead next Morning, his Body a while after was tied with his Head to the Horse's Tail, and drawn to the Scaffold at Tower-hill, where he was buried, and a Stake covered with Iron at the Top driven into his Body.

The Sect of Quakers were now grown numerous, among whom one called James Naylor, resembling in his Proportions and Complexion the Picture of Christ, and setting his Beard and Locks in the same Fashion, pretended to counterfeit our blessed Saviour, and had Disciples and Women ministring unto him, who blasphemously apply'd several Expressions of Scripture, relating to our Lord Jesus, to this Man. He first appeared at Bristol, where a Man leading an Horse before him, and Dorcas, Erbury, and Martha Symonds, going up to the Knees in Dirt by his Horse side, sung aloud, Holy, Holy, Holy, Hosanna to the Highest, &c. For this they were seized and brought to the Parliament. They entred the House singing their Blasphemies, and a Committee being appointed to consider of their Punishment, he was sentenced to be set in the Pillory twice, and whipt twice, and his Forehead to be stigmatized with the Letter B for

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a Blaſphemer, and bored through the Tongue with a hot Iron, with which he uſed to anſwer every Queſtion, Thou haſt ſaid it, and the like.

He was likewiſe whipt at Briſtol, and thence returned to Bridewell, to be kept cloſe Priſoner, and to eat no more than he earned. In Newgate, after his Puniſhment, one Mr. Rich, a Merchant of Credit, that held him by the Hand while he was in the Pillory, with divers others, licked his Wounds; the Women were obſerved, ſome to lay their Heads in his Lap, lying againſt his Feet, others to lean upon his Shoulders, and as ſoon as any Quaker came into his Company, they would firſt take him by the Hand, and in a ſtrange Note ſay, Holy, Holy, &c. but being removed to Bridewell, after three Days wilful faſting, having weakned himſelf even to Death, he begged ſome Victuals, and then was ſet to work, which he performed, and came by degrees to himſelf, and his Underſtanding; after Cromwel's Death he had his Liberty, and ſoon after died.

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The Parliament had been long debating about settling the Government on the Protector, when on a sudden Alderman Pack of London, and one of the Members started a Motion, *That in regard of the unsettlement of the Nation, and the discomposure of Mens Minds, and the ill Aspect it had upon Foreign Princes and all Trade, that therefore the Protector might be desired to assume the Stile of King, as the most known and most agreeable Government.* This Motion was seconded by several of the Protector's Courties, and April 9. the Parliament having desired a Meeting with him, came to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where the Speaker commended the Title and Office of a King, as being settled in this Nation, where Christianity it self, approv'd by our Ancestors, and consistent with our Laws, and the Temper of the People, and then presented him the Model of their humble Petition and Advice to that Purpose. His Highness in answer thereto, said, *Mr. Speaker this is a weighty Matter, and therefore I desire spe to seek God, the Charge that you would lay upon being to heavy for me too bear without his Assistance, fo the English are the best People in the World, and require all Tenderness and Consideration whatsoever, to be used for preserving their Liberties and Properties.*

The next Day a Committee of 6 or 7 of their Number was appointed to wait upon him, and answer his Scruples and Objections, which were, That the Title of a King was the Name of the Office of a supream Magistrate, to which that of Protector might be accommodated without a Change. That Providence had laid by the Title of King after 7 Years War. That it was dangerous to alter the Government again from a Common-wealth to a Monarchy. That it would be disliked by many of the good People of the Nation, as well as by the Army and Judges, who might refuse to act.

To

To this they replied, That the Name of King had been in uſe in this Nation for above 1300 Years paſt. That the Perſons had ſometimes diſpleaſed the People, but the Title never. That the Law was fitted thereto, and that it was accommodated to the Genius of the People, and approved alſo. That by refuſing the Title of King, he did not ſo much derogate from himſelf, as from the Nation, whoſe Honour it was to be governed by a King. That the ſupream Magiſtrate was never deſigned by the Name of Protector, but King, to whom the Scripture it ſelf has annexed ſo many Covenants, Promiſes, and Precepts; neither is the Title of Protector once mentioned in the Holy Text; which thoſe good Men who were tender conſcienced might conſider, and being ſo well principled in Godlineſs, might learn from thence Submiſſion to Authority under a Kingly Government. But the ſtrongeſt Argument of all was, the Statutes of the 9. of Edw. 4. and the 3. of Hen. 7. whereby it was enacted, That no Man bearing Arms, tho' unjuſtly, for the King de Facto, or in Being and Poſſeſſion, ſhould be puniſhed for it, under pretence that he was not King de Jure, or that he had no Right to the Crown; and that in the late Wars, more truſting to that Law, were in Arms for the King than of thoſe that loved his Cauſe. And that Providence had now brought about Affairs ſo as it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary for his Highneſs to comply therewith.

Theſe and many other Arguments were at large offered and urged to him; but Cromwel finding the Inclinations of ſome of the People, and eſpecially of many Officers and Soldiers, averſe to the Title of King, which they had ſo lately renounced; and doubting it ſeems, that tho' it might fortify his Title it would weaken his Revenue, who required 1900000 *l.* a Year for the Support of his Government, beſides the Charge of the Spaniſh War:

War: He thereupon sent for the Parliament to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, May 8. following, and his eldest Son Richard (afterward Protector) being among them, the old Stairs by which they mounted being overcharged by Weight broke with them, so that many fell down much bruised in their Legs and Arms, among the rest Richard being grievously wounded, lay by it a long while, and this was brought by some to be a Presage of his Fall from his Protectorian Dignity.

And now the Protector gives them his last and positive Answer, That he had had many Thoughts about what they had so often insisted upon, that it was necessary for him to take upon him the Title of King, and that though he did with all Honour and Respect acknowledge, that no private Judgment is to lye in the Ballance with the Judgment of a Parliament, yet in Things respecting particular Persons, every Man must give an Account to God of his Actions, and that if he should comply with them, it would be doubtingly at best, and not of Faith, and consequently sinful. Lastly, That though he thought Monarchy consisted of many excellent Parts, in all, but the Title as to him; yet he should not be an honest Man, if he did not tell them, That he could not undertake this Government with Title of King, and this was his Answer to this great and weighty Business.

The Royal Party were much disappointed with this Answer, they being extreamly desirous that Cromwel should take the Title of King. For tho' at present it might seem to prejudice the Right of K. Charles II. to the Crown, and tho' several things were then publickly discoursed of against his Interest, as that he was Consumptive, and could not live long, that he was Melancholly and inclined to a Monkish Life, and to the Popish Religion, and had laid aside all Thoughts of desire

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of Government; and lastly, That the D. of York his dear Brother was a professed Papist, tho' all this was published to alienate the Peoples Affections from him, yet his Friends were of Opinion, that if Cromwel were once advanced to the Throne, and the Monarchy thereby restored, the Controversy for the future would only be, whether King Charles or K. Oliver should reign.

The Protector having refused the Title of King, the Committee of Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory Act, of the former Instrument of Government, when he came to the Protectorship in 1653. (which is before inserted:) And the Parliament having voted, That Protector should be the Title of the chief Magistrate, they desired a Conference with Cromwel in the Painted Chamber, Westminster, May 25. 1657, where Sir Tho. Widdrington their Speaker, presented him with the Model of his future Government, under the Title of *The Petition and Advice.* Which being read, the Protector made a Speech to signify his unwillingness to undertake so great a Burden, which was to heavy for any human Creature to bear, without the Almighty's Support; and called God to witness, that nothing could have induced him to have undertaken it, had it not been determined by the Parliament to make clearly for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and the Preservation of such as fear God.

He then passed this Petition into a Law, and June 26. was appointed for his solemn Investiture, a Place being prepared at Westminsterhall. At the upper end were two Chairs set, one for the Protector, the other for the Speaker. The Members of Parliament, Aldermen of London, and other Persons of Note, sat on each side, on the Scaffolds built for them. All being ready, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lord's House, and in this Order proceeded into the Hall:

First

First went his Gentleman, then an Herald, the Attorney General, then the Judges, after them Norroy King at Arms, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Seal carried by Commissioner Fines then Garter, and after him the Earl of Warwick with the Sword born before the Protector bare-headed, the Lord Mayor Tichburn carrying the City Sword at his left Hand: Being seated in the Chair, on the Left Hand stood the L. Mayor and the Dutch Ambassador, and on the Right the E. of Warwick and the French Ambassador, next behind him stood his Son Richard, L. Fleetwood, L. Cleypool, and the Privy-Council; upon a lower Descent stood the Lords Montague and Whitlock with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker in the Name of the Parliament presented him several Things laid on the Table, which were a Robe of Purple Velvet, a Bible, a Sceptre, and a Sword, on each of which the Speaker made a short Comment as he delivered them.

1. The Robe of Purple: This is an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice; when you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-Man. This Robe is of a mixt Colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy; indeed a Magistrate must have two Hands, *plectentem & amplectentem*, to cherish and to punish.

2. The Bible is a Book that contains all the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the Happiness to be well versed: This Book of Life consists of 2 Testaments, the Old and New; the first shews *Christum Velatum*; the second, *Christum Revelatum*; Christ Veiled and Reveiled: It is the Book of Books, and contains both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

3. Here is a Sceptre, not unlike a Staff to the Weak and Poor, it is of ancient use in this kind: It is said in Scripture, *That the Sceptre shall not depart*

depart from Judah. It was of the like uſe in other Kingdoms, however the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes, Sceptre bearers.

4. The laſt Thing is a Sword, not a Military, but Civil Sword, rather of Defence than Offence, not to defend your ſelf only, but your People alſo. If I might preſume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot did upon his, it ſhould be this, *Ego ſum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum*, I am the Lord Protector's to protect my People.

After this the Speaker returned again to the Chair, and adminiſtred the Oath to the Protector in theſe following Words.

I Do in the Preſence, and by the Name of Almighty God, promiſe and ſwear, that to the utmoſt of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, of the old and new Teſtaments, to the utmoſt of my Underſtanding and Power, and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame; & that to the utmoſt of my Power, I will endeavour as chief Magiſtrate of theſe 3 Nations, the maintenance and preſervation of the Peace and Safety, and juſt Rights and Privileges of the People thereof; and ſhall in all Things according to my beſt Knowledge and Power, govern the People of theſe Nations according to Law.

The Oath being adminiſtred, Dr. Menton made a Prayer, and then an Herald ſtood up aloft, giving ſignal to a Trumpet to ſound three times; after which, he did by Authority and Direction of Parliament, publiſh and proclaim his Highneſs Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, requiring all Perſons to yield him due Obedience. This Proclamation ended, the Trumpets again ſounded, and ſome Soldiers and others

others cried out, *God save the Lord Protector*: Then he was again proclaimed by an Officer at Arms, ſtanding on the Stairs. The Ceremonies ended, the Protector attended by all the Officers of State went into the Palace Yard in his Robes, where entring his Coach, he returned in State to Whitehall.

This Year an Inſurrection was deſigned by thoſe called Fifth Monarchy Men, who had divers Meetings in an Houſe in Shoreditch, but ſeveral of them being diſcontented Perſons, formerly of the Army, they appointed to Rendezvouz on Mile-end Green, and ſo march into other Countries to augment their Party. At length they were ſeized, and ſome Arms and Ammunitions taken with them, and a Standard with a Lyon Couchant with this Motto, Who ſhall rouſe him up? The Men taken were Venner a Wine-Cooper, with their Scribe Grey, Goaler, Hopkins, Aſhton, and others. About them was found a Declaration in Print, called, The Principles of the Remnant; they were committed to Priſon, but after releaſed without Proſecution. Likewiſe M. Gen. Harriſon, Lawſon, Rich, and Danvars were ſecured as Diſcontents. About this time the Victorious General Blake returning from the Coaſt of Spain, fell ſick of the Scurvy and Dropſy, and died juſt entring into Plymouth Sound, paſſionately enquiring for Land; he was buried with a handſome Funeral from Greenwich, and Interr'd in K. Henry VIIth Chappel at Weſtminſter.

The Protector to keep the Spaniards imployed every where, makes a League with the French, whereby it was agreed, That Cromwel ſhould ſend 6000 Foot over into Flanders, which the French extreamly wanted, to be paid by the French King. And that the ſecond Town which ſhould be taken, was to be delivered up to the Engliſh; that Charles Stuart, late King of England, with all his Court and

and Family, ſhould be baniſhed out of France, leſt he might any way aſſiſt the Enemy.

In purſuance hereof, May 4. 1657. theſe Forces arrived in Picardy, and joined with thoſe Forces commanded by the Marſhal Turein, to which the Protector was the more induced, becauſe the King of Spain had invited King Charles into his Dominions ſince the Breach with England, and he was then at Bruges, full of Expectation of being reſtored by the Power of that King, and the Marquiſs of Ormond, the Wilmot, the Lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the L. Taaf, and Gen. Middleton, had their ſeveral Regiments quartered about the Sea Coaſts in order to a Deſcent, the Dukes of York and Gloceſter had likewiſe Commands in Flanders. Sir John Reynolds, one of Cromwel's Knights, formerly Commiſſary General of the Army in Ireland, was Gen. of the Engliſh Forces, and Col. Morgan, Major Gen. Before their Embarquement they rendezvouz'd at Blackheath, where Hugh Peters gave them a Sermon for Encouragement, and were ſhipped with a Months pay in Hand, and all new red Coats.

In September, the French and Engliſh Forces advanced into the Spaniſh Territories, and according to Agreement ſate down before Mardyke, a ſtrong Fortreſs, and put themſelves between it and Dunkirk: Gen. Montague riding before the Spliuter with a Fleet of War, it was not long before a continued Battery made the Beſieged quit the Wooden Fort, which ſo incommoded them when taken by the Engliſh, that they were obliged to yield to Mercy, Turein not allowing them better Terms, becauſe they had refuſed his firſt Offers: Mardyke was put into the Hands of the Engliſh, in Conſideration of our Aſſiſtance, and Col. Morgan took poſſeſſion thereof with ſeveral Regiments, whom the Spaniards ſoon after endeavoured to remove, by a ſudden and fierce Aſſault,

after

after the Armies were drawn into Winter Quarters, since being only 2 Miles from Dunkirk, they were fearful it might endanger that Town. Whereupon Don John of Austria resolved to hazard a Scalado, and attack by Night; the Duke of York and the Marquis of Caracene managed the Business, and K. Charles and the D. of Glocester had convey'd themselves into Dunkirk to observe the Success of it. Oct. 22. 4000 English, Scots, Irish, and some Spaniards, about 10 at Night, began to storm Mardyke with Hand-granadoes, and other Engines proper for an Assault, and were got into the Trenches, and had mounted the Scaling-ladders; but the English within being ready to receive them, commanded by Reynolds, Morgan, and Lillingstone, the Assailants were with great Slaughter repulsed, the Cannon in the mean time, from the English Fleet in the Splinter, firing their Broadsides upon them, being directed by 4 great Torches set up at the 4 Corners of the Fort, how to avoid damaging it. Yet about 4 in the Morning, the D. of York commanded the Assault to be renewed, which was done with great Fury, but to as little Advantage as before, so that Day-light approaching, they were forced to retreat, carrying away the Dead in Waggons, judged to be some hundreds.

Since Force would not prevail, the Duke designed to regain this important Place by Stratagem, imploying a Scotch Knight, well acquainted with Gen. Reynolds, to represent to him the Advantage he might obtain by serving the King, and promoting his Restoration, which it seems so far prevailed, that Reynolds agreed to give the Duke a Meeting betwixt Dunkirk and Mardyke, with a Party of Horse on either side. At their Approach, Reynolds shewed much Respect to the Duke, and some private Discourses passed between them which were never made publick, and then the General returned

returned to the Fort, and the Duke to Dunkirk. The Protector having Intelligence of this Interview, diſpatched away a Meſſenger to command Reynolds to London; ſo he, with Col. White, and the General's Secretary, taking the firſt Ship that was ready, venture to go off in a Dutch Pink of 100 Ton, in a ſtormy Night, Dec. 12. (a Frigat offering to wait upon him the next Morning) but were all caſt away on the back of the Goodwin Sands, his Cheſt, Sword and Belt being found, and Col. Morgan commanded in his Place.

There now happened Wars between the two Northern Crowns, and the Danes having attacked Bremer-warden, a ſtrong Place, and maſtered it, the Protector ſent Sir Ph. Meadows Envoy to the King of Denmark, and Col. Jephſon to the King of Sweden, then Journying out of Poland, where he was engaged in War likewiſe, to meet this new Enemy. They were both well received, and during this Mediation, the Protector ſent Supplies of 2000 Men and Arms to his Ally the King of Sweden.

Mean while the Protector at Home was ſwearing his Privy Council, purſuant to the humble Petition and Advice, and his Son Richard was made one, and alſo Chancellor of Oxford: His Son Henry, L. Deputy of Ireland; and his Son in Law Fleetwood was deſigned to be L. Commiſſioner of Scotland, where Gen. Monk at preſent commanded. He likewiſe, in this interval of Parliament, made choice of ſeveral Perſons to fill up the other Houſe or Houſe of Lords (according to Article 4. of the Petition and Advice) being 62 in number, among them were ſome few of the Nobility, as the Earls of Warwick and Manchester, the Viſcounts Liſle and Howard, the Lords Say and Seal, Wharton, Falconbridge, Ewers, Broghil, Warreſton, Caſſils, with divers Knights; but ſeveral Colonels of the Army of mean Extract being mingled with them,

them, as Pride, Hewſon, Cooper, Whaley, &c. many of the reſt peclined to appear or act.

When the Parliament met again after their Prorogation, the Protector ſent for the Commons to the Houſe of Lords, and made a pleaſing Speech to them, concluding, That if they would go on to proſecute what they had begun, they ſhould be called, *The Bleſſed of the Lord*, and the Generations to come ſhould bleſs them. Then L. Fiennes Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, gave them an Account of the Deficiencies of the Supplies granted laſt Seſſions, to the expence and neceſſities of the State. The Commons then return to their Houſe, and the other Houſe (as it was called) ſent them a Meſſage about keeping a Faſt, to which they anſwered, They would conſider of it; they then (according to Article 4. of the Petition and Advice, which ſays, That no Member legally choſen ſhould be excluded from performing his Duty but by Conſent of Parliament) proceed to call over and readmit the Members formerly excluded by the Protector, to his great diſcontent. The Houſe being now full, began to ſlight the other Houſe, being a Power created by a part of a Parliament, which ought not to have Negative Voice over the Repreſentative of the Commons of England, and queſtion the Protector's Power in calling and authorizing them to ſit as an Houſe of Peers. What, ſay they, have we fought to depoſe the prerogative Creatures the Lords, thoſe Limbs of Tyranny who lorded it over the Free-born People of England, and ſhall we ſubmit to theſe Creatures of Cromwel's ſole Creation, to uſurp the ſame Tyranny over us and the free Denizens of the three Kingdoms. The Protector heated with theſe bold Speeches, and doubting the Effect of them, ſent for the Commons, Feb. 4. 1657. into the Houſe of Peers, and ſitting under the Chair of State, made a long Speech, and in the Concluſion told them,

That

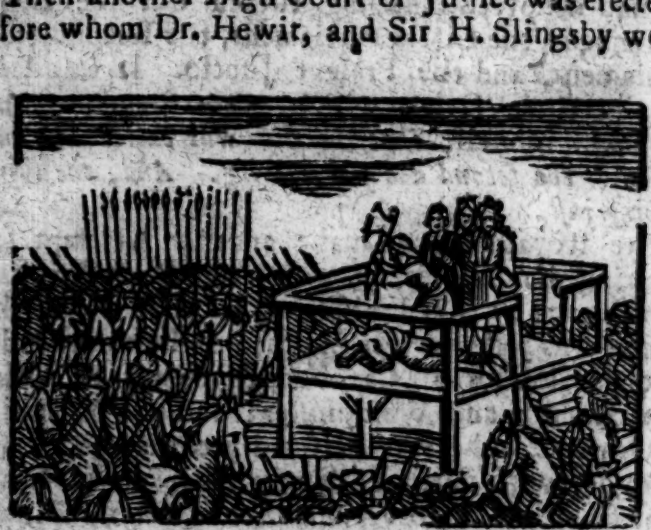
That it did concern his Intereſt, as well as the publick Peace and Tranquility of the Nation, to diſſolve this Parliament; ſo he did now put an end to their ſitting, and in Obedience to his Commands they diſſolved. This was the 4th Parliament he had diſſolved; having turned out the Long Parliament, the Little Parliament, the Recognition Parliament, and the Preſent Juncto. It was ſaid of the three latter, which were ſummoned by Cromwel himſelf, *That the firſt was called but not choſen. The ſecond did juſt nothing. And, the third nothing juſt.*

The Royaliſts now make another Attempt for reſtoring K. Charles, of which the Protector had Intelligence by his Emiſſaries, ſo that when the Deſign was juſt ripe for Execution, he publiſhed a Proclamation for all Cavaliers to depart 20 Miles from London and Weſtminſter; and the Marquiſs of Ormond, who was perſonally concerned in the Intrigue, with much Difficulty eſcaped in a ſmall Boat from Suſſex to Flanders; but ſeveral others were ſeized, as Col. Ruſſel, Sir W. Compton, Sir W. Clayton, Mr. Mordant Brother to the Earl of Peterborough, Dr. Hewit Preacher at St. Gregories by St. Pauls, Mr Woodcock, Mr. Manſel, Mr. Mallory, Sir Henry Slingsby, and many more; moſt of them were kept cloſe Priſoners, till ſome were prevailed upon to be Witneſſes againſt others. The Deſign was laid in Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, and Suſſex, the King being ready to have paſſed over from Flanders with an Army under Count Marcia the Prince of Conde's General, and Portſmouth, Hull, and other maritime Fortreſſes, were treated for. The Protector ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, acquainting them with what Diſcoveries he had made, and the Danger they were in, who thereupon choſe a new Lieutenancy, and changed the Officers of the Trained Bands, and the Protector doubled his Guards, and an Alarm was given,

That

That on May 16. the Cavaliers had appointed for their Rising and firing the Town, and all the Soldiers about the City to be murdered, so all the 6 Regiments were raised at once, and divers Citizens seized.

Then another High Court of Justice was erected, before whom Dr. Hewit, and Sir H. Slingsby were



brought, and charged with High Treason upon these Articles: 1. *That they had traiterously and maliciously endeavoured to raise Forces, and levy War against his Highness and the Government, and to subvert and alter the same.* 2. *That they had traiterously declared, published, and promoted Charles Stuart, eldest Son to the late King Charles, to be King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* 3. *That they had held Intelligence with the said Charles Stuart.* Dr. Hewit would not own the Court, but pleaded several Cases against it, and was therefore condemned as Mute. Mr. Mordant was next set to the Bar, who argued so very plainly and fully against the Evidence, that he was acquitted by one Voice only. Sir H. Slingsby defended himself by alledging, That what was said by him about seducing the Governor of Hull, and persuading him to surrender that Garrison to the

King

King, was only in Jeſt and Diſcourſe: He was found Guilty and condemned. Mr. Malloby pleaded Guilty and was ſaved. Mr. Woodcock cleared himſelf ſo well, that they could faſten nothing upon him. June 8. 1657. Dr. Hewit and Sir H. Slingsby were beheaded on Tower Hill, though many Endeavours were uſed, and much Sollicitation made to ſave their Lives. Some other Perſons of inferior Quality were likewiſe tryed and executed upon this Account, as Col. Edw. Aſhton, who was hanged and quartered at Mark-lane end in Tower Street, Edm. Stacy againſt the Royal Exchahge, and John Bettely in Cheapſide.

About this time a great Whale of 60 Foot long came up as far as Greenwich, to the admiration of all that ſaw his vaſt Bulk, being purſued with Guns and other Weapons, with great Danger, and at length was brought dead to the Shore.

The French and Engliſh Armies being joined now, ſate down before Dunkirk, reſolving to take it before they ſtirred, which hotly alarmed the Spaniards in all their Quarters; whereupon Don John of Auſtria, conſidering the Importance of the Place, as being the Key of Flanders, and a Frontier of France, ſo that if the Engliſh poſſeſſed it, they might have an Opportunity to conquer all Flanders by the Forces that might be continually landed from England, with the Supplies of Money which this Town by their Booties had brought into the Treaſury. Upon theſe and the like Motives, he reſolved to attempt its Relief, though with the Hazard of his whole Army; but whilſt he is getting them together, the Engliſh and French Forces run their Trenches to the Spaniſh Counterſcarp, and ſtill approached nigher the Wall. The Spaniards fearing their Relief might come too late, made haſte to its Aſſiſtance; the better to effect which, Don John their General drains moſt of the Garriſons and compleats a Body of 16000 Men,

with which he marches thro' Fuernes, and incamps within a Mile and half of Marſhal Turein's Quarters, of which the Confederates having Advice,

diſlodged with a Body of 15000; leaving firſt enough to guard the Trenches, and make good their Approaches, if the Townſmen ſhould attempt a Sally. With this Detachment and ten pieces of Cannon, Turein faces the Spaniard: The Engliſh Foot drawn up in 4 great Battalions were ordered to give the firſt Aſſault upon 4 Battalions of Spaniſh Foot, who had the advantage of the Ground, being placed upon three riſing Hillocks, and were ſeconded by Don John himſelf.

The

The Engliſh were commanded by the L. Lockhart, who having firſt ordered a Forlorn Hope of 300 Musketeers to mount the Sandhills, together with his own Regiment of Foot under Col. Fenwick, they ſtoutly maintained their Ground, tho' the Spaniards played down continual Volleys of ſhot among them, and the French refuſed to ſecond them: He then ſent another conſiderable Brigade to their Relief, who fell in with the But-end of their Muskets among the Spaniſh Foot, and they not being uſed to ſuch Club Law, left the Field and fled. The French Horſe ſeeing the good Fortune of the Engliſh Foot, fell in upon the Spaniſh Horſe, few of whom ſtood the Charge except thoſe under the Dukes of York and Gloceſter, who after ſome Reſiſtance, were forced by the number of Aſſailants to follow the reſt.

In this Battle a great part of the L. Lockhart's Regiment were either ſlain or wounded, and Liuet. Col. Fenwick was killed by a Muſket Bullet. The ſlaughter was great, the French Horſe being ſevere in the purſuit, ſo that near 3000 were ſlain, and many Spaniſh Noblemen killed, wounded, and taken Priſoners.

This total Rout of the Relievers Army, put deſpair into the Dunkirkers, who could now expect no Relief by Sea or Land, the Engliſh Fleet blocking them up by Sea, and Don John of Auſtria not being able to recruit his Army by Land: Yet the Marquiſs of Leda their Governor, to demonſtrate ſome Courage, made ſtrong and frequent Sallies upon the French Quarters, proceeding rather from Deſpair than Valour, for in one of them the Marquiſs received a Wound of which he died; and he being the Life of the Beſieged, his Death occaſioned the loſs of Dunkirk. For the Engliſh and French playing without intermiſſion with their Mortars 14 Days upon the Town, the Beſieged tired with continual Duty, beat a Parley, and delivered

it upon Articles, Dunkirk being eſtabliſhed in the Hands of the Engliſh, the French Army after a Months ſiege poſſeſs themſelves of Graveling, a ſtrong Fortreſs near Dunkirk. So the Engliſh and French had now in their Hands all the Frontier Towns on this ſide Flanders.

In April 1658, a Party of the Garriſon of Oſtend with the privity of the Spaniſh Governor held intelligence with the Cardinal Mazarine, and after with Cromwel, to deliver up the Town to the French, wherein the Protector was to have his Share. Mazarine was to ſend a Land Army under Marſhal d'Aumont, and Cromwel was to provide a Fleet to tranſport them. Articles of Agreement were made between them and the Spaniards, and May 14. the Fleet appeared before Oſtend, and the Garriſon in the Fort permitted the French to paſs by and Land. But the Governor fearing if the Engliſh Fleet ſhould enter the Haven, they might endanger the Town, he with his own Hands pulled downt he white Flag, and ſet up the bloody Flag. And before the Engliſh Fleet could tack about, and get out of Danger, they were ſore galled by the Cannon from the Fort, and the 1500 French that landed, were every Man of them either killed or taken, the Marſhal d'Aumont being made a Priſoner. The French that were not killed Mazarine redeemed, but the Protector who had been at the moſt Charge for his Fleet, could get no reparation from the Cardinal. Thus were both theſe refined Politicians out-witted by this ſubtile Spaniſh Governor, who after publiſhed the Story, under the Title of, *Harm watch, Harm catch.*

The Lady Cleypool, the Protector's ſecond and beloved Daughter, whoſe Image ſhe was ſaid to be, died Aug. 6. 1658, at Hampton Court, and was conveyed thence by Water with a great number of mourning Barges, to the painted Chamber at Weſtminſter, where a ſtately Herſe was prepar'd for

for her, from whence she was carried about 12 at Night to K. Henry VIIth's Chappel, and there interr'd in a Place purposely provided for her. The Death of this Lady was said to be very grievous to her Father, and thought to be one Cause of his own soon after. She died of an inward Imposthume in her Loins, in great Agony and Pain, after she had in her Hysterical Fits much disquieted her Father with some Speeches she then uttered about his Proceedings. To this disturbance was added the disorders of his own Family, his Son-in-Law Fleetwood and his Brother-in-Law Desborough caballing with the Common-wealth's Men and dissenting Officers of the Army, as Lambert and several others. So that growing very Melancholly till about the end of August, it did then manifestly appear that the Distemper was not in his Mind alone, for shortly after he was taken with a slow Fever, that at length degenerated into a Bastard Tertian Ague. For a Week the Disease continued so, without any dangerous Symptoms, so that every other Day he walked abroad. But one Day after Dinner, his 5 Physicians coming to wait on him, one of them feeling his Pulse, said it intermitted, at which suddenly startled, he looked pale, and ordered himself to be carried to Bed, where being refresht with Cordials, he made his Will, only settling his private and domestick Affairs. Next Morning when one of his Physicians came to visit him, he asked him why he looked so sad, and when he made Answer, That so it became any one who had the Care of his Life and Health upon him; You Physicians, said he, think I shall dye. Then the Company being removed, holding his Wife by the Hand, he spoke to the Physician to this Purpose; I tell you I shall not dye this Hour, I am sure of it. And because he observed the Physician to look more attentively upon him at these Words, Don't think (said he) that I am mad, I

ſpeak the Words of Truth, upon ſurer Grounds than Galen or your Hyppocrates furniſh you with. God Almighty hath given that Anſwer not to my Prayers alone, but alſo to the Prayers of thoſe who maintain a ſtricter Communion and greater Intimacy with him. Go on chearfully, baniſh all ſadneſs from your Looks, and deal with me as you would do with a Serving-man. You may have Skill in the Nature of Things, yet Nature can do more than all Phyſicians together; and the Lord is far more above Nature. Some report he added, That as God had carried him to that height, he did truly believe he had ſome further Work for him to do.

But being ordered to take his Reſt, becauſe he had not ſlept moſt Part of the Night, as this Phyſician (who is the Relater of theſe Paſſages) who coming out of his Chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom he ſaid, I am afraid our Patient will be Light-headed. The other inſtantly replied, Sir, you are certainly a Stranger in this Houſe. Don't you know what was done laſt Night. The Chaplains and all that are dear to God being diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the Palace, have ſought and prayed to God for his Health, and have all brought in this Anſwer, He ſhall recover.

Nay, ſo far did the Enthuſiaſtick Humour prevail, that a Faſt being kept at Hampton Court for his ſake, the Miniſters did not ſo much pray to God for his Health, as return Thanks for the undoubted Pledges of his Recovery; and they repeated the ſame Thankſgivings again at Whitehall. This vain Confidence of his Chaplains, was the Cauſe that his Phyſicians judged it not prudent to mention a Word of his Danger.

In the mean time the Protector leaving Hampton Court, where hitherto he had lain, is brought to Whitehall;

Whitehall; and the Phyſicians met at a Conſultation in the Doctors Chamber. But next Morning another Phyſician who had watched all Night with him, came and told them how ill he had been in the laſt Fit; ſo they all concluded that he could hardly out live another. This Sentence of the Phyſicians awaking the Privy Council, they come to adviſe him that he would name his Succeſſor. But when in a drowzy Fit, he anſwered from the purpoſe, they again ask him, If he did not name Richard his eldeſt Son for his Succeſſor; to which he anſwered, Yes. Then being asked where his Will was, which heretofore he had made, concerning the Heirs of the Kingdom, he ſent to look for it in his Cloſet, and other Places, but in vain, for he had either cancelled it himſelf, or elſe ſomebody had conveyed it away. And ſo Richard was nominated his Heir. That Night he was obſerved to pray as followeth.

Lord, I am a miſerable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with thee through Grace, and if I may I will come unto thee; for my People, Lord, thou haſt made me, tho' very unworthy, a mean Inſtrument to do them ſome Good, and thee Service, and many of them had too high a Value for me, tho' others would be glad of my Fall: But Lord, do thou good to them, give conſiſtency of Judgment, one Heart and mutual Love unto them: Let the Name of Chriſt be glorious throughout the World: Pardon ſuch as delight to trample upon the Aſhes of a Worm, and pardon the Folly of this ſhort Prayer, even for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake.

This was on Thurſday Night, and on Friday Morning, Sep. 3. 1658, his twice victorious Day, at Dunbar and Worceſter, there appeared all the ſigns of a dying Perſon, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon he expired. A Day or two before his Death a very great Tempeſt happened, and was thought to preſage it: Which was then elegantly deſcribed by the Poet Laurel of that Age in the

following Poem, wherein the Wit must compound for the Flattery.

Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwel, Lord Protector, and the great Storm.

We must resign, Heav'n his great Soul doth claim
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame,
His dying Groans, his last Breath, shakes our Isle,
And Trees uncut fall for his funeral Pile,
About his Palace their broad Roots were tost
Into the Air, so Romulus was lost:
New Rome in such a Tempest mist her King,
And from obeying fell to worshipping.
On Oeta's Top thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd Oaks, and Pines about him spread:
The Poplar too, whose Bough he went to wear
On his victorious Head, lay prostrate there.
Those his last Fury from the Mountain rent,
One dying Hero from the Continent.
Ravish'd whole Towns and Forts from Spaniards rest,
As his last Legacy to Britain left.
The Ocean which our Hopes so long confin'd
Could give no Limits to his vaster Mind:
Our Bounds inlargement was his latest Toil,
Nor hath he left us Prisoners to the Isle.
Under the Tropick is our Language spoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our Yoke.
From civil Broils he did us disuage,
Found nobler Objects for our Martial Rage;
And with wise Conduct to his Country show'd
Their ancient Way of conquering abroad:
Ingrateful then, if we no Tears allow
To him that gave us Peace and Empire too:
Princes that fear'd him grieved, concerned to see
No pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.

Nature

Nature herſelf took notice of his Death,
And ſighing ſwell'd the Sea with ſuch a Breath,
That to remoteſt Shores her Billows roll'd,
The approaching Fate of their great Ruler told.

Thus you have a brief Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwel, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, whoſe Valour mounted him to that height, by which he raiſed his Family almoſt equal to the beſt of the Kingdom, and the Nation to that Glory, that foreign Princes feared and envied him. He had two Sons, Richard who ſucceeded him, and Henry, whom from 16 Years of Age, was by his Father bred a Soldier, and was at his Death Lord Deputy of Ireland: And 4 Daughters, Bridget, firſt married to the Lord Deputy Ireton, and afterward to the Lord Fleetwood. Elizabeth his ſecond Daughter, married to the Lord Cleypool, Maſter of his Horſe. Mary his third, married to the Lord Falconbridge. Frances his youngeſt, married to the Lord Rich, Grandſon to the Earl of Warwick.

His CHARACTER.

IT may ſeem difficult to give a juſt and impartial Character of this great Man, conſidering the different Sentiments that have paſſed upon him. However it may not be amiſs to give ſome Account of his Humour, Temper, and Inclinations, from thoſe who appear moſt moderate on either ſide.

I have already declared his Deſcent and Pedigree, and have only to add what ſome have written, That the Name of this Family was not originally Cromwel but Williams, and that this of Cromwel

was by this Accident, when the great L. Cromwel fell, in the Reign of King Henry VIII. he had in his Service one Williams, a Perſon of lively Parts, and induſtrious in Buſineſs; which King Henry obſerving (after his Maſter's Death) he gave him a conſiderable Imployment, and upon all Occaſions called him Cromwel, his Maſter's Name: And the King being asked the Reaſon, anſwered, That he called him ſo in Cromwel's Time, and would continue to call him ſo ſtill, and this Name continued down from that time to Sir Oliver Cromwel, and thence to our Protector.

As to his Religion, after the apparant Reformation that was viſible in him, if he were not ſincere, yet he ſtudied to gain an Opinion of extraordinary Sanctity among the Miniſtry: And in the beginning of the Wars reflecting on the Succeſs of the King's Army againſt the Parliament's under the Earl of Eſſex, he told ſome great Men of that Party, That the Rabble of which their Forces were compoſed would never be able to prevail againſt the King, whoſe Army conſiſted of Gentlemen that fought upon the Motive of Honour, and not for Pay only as theirs did: But if they deſigned to fight with equal Courage and Succeſs, they muſt imploy honeſt Soldiers, or at leaſt Officers who would fight meerly for Conſcience ſake; ſo having leave to raiſe a Regiment, he by Letters and Meſſengers invited from ſeveral Counties all the ſober Men of his Acquaintance to liſt themſelves for Soldiers. Hereupon a great Number of thoſe who were then called Puritans, and had ſuffered by the Eccleſiaſticks, came flocking in to him, ſo that he ſoon made up a Regiment of above 1000 Horſe, who tho' at firſt undiſciplined either in managing Arms or Horſes, yet by Diligence and Induſtry, they quickly became excellent Soldiers. For Cromwel inured them to feed and dreſs their own

own Horſes; to lye upon the Ground upon Occaſion; to keep their Arms fixt and clean, to be always ready for Service; to chooſe the beſt Armour, and to arm themſelves with the beſt Advantages. Being conſtantly trained up in this kind of Military Exerciſe, they excelled all their fellow Soldiers in Feats of War. This was the beginning of that new Model ſo called in 1645, which was ſo ſucceſful againſt the King's old diſciplin'd Troops. For theſe Soldiers were by Cromwel preferred to be Commanders and Officers in this new Army, their places being ſupplied with luſty ſtout Fellows, whom Oliver trained up, and kept in very ſtrict Diſcipline; and he was often heard to glory in the Advice he had given for new modelling the Army, who being zealous for the Cauſe ſeldom fail'd in any Undertaking. After this, Cromwel was made Major Gen. of the Horſe, then Lieut. General, and at laſt Lord General; till after all he raiſed himſelf to the Dignity of Protector, and attained the higheſt Place of Honour and Authority; and few ever applied themſelves with greater Induſtry in the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth, ſo that his keeneſt Adverſaries acknowledged, he was not unworthy of the Government, had his Way been plain and innocent in obtaining the ſame.

Though he appeared zealous in Religion, yet not to eſpouſe the Opinions of any particular Sect. But he ſeemed moſt inclined to the Independants, declaring that it was his only Wiſh, to ſee the Church in Peace, under one Shepherd the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: Tho' in the mean time he promoted Diſſentions between them; and having projected ſpecious Propoſals of Reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independants, when they are upon the Point of Agreement, he ſet them at a greater Variance, and under pretext of moderating

and

and pacifying the Scotch Remonſtrators and Aſſembly Men, he kindled greater Flames among them. Thus by turns he courted all Parties in Religion. And when the Presbyterians grew ſomewhat troubleſome to his Government and their Neighbours, he let looſe the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and other Sects, who took upon them to diſpute with their Preachers, and to interrupt them in their publick Worſhip, thereby creating no ſmall trouble to them; nay (ſaith my Author) he was heard to glory privately, that he had curb'd that inſolent Sect (as he privately called them) which would ſuffer none but it ſelf. So that they were obliged to thank him for granting them Permiſſion to preach and worſhip God after their own Manner in their Congregations. But the Independants had the chief Places of Profit and Honour, whom he countenanced with their own Familiarity, and of whom his domeſtick Chaplains were compoſed; and at length gave them Liberty to call an Aſſembly of their Preachers at the Savoy, to draw up a Confuſion of Faith, and to juſtify themſelves from the abſurd Opinions wherewith they ſtood charged; which was done accordingly in his Son Richard's time.

Tho' the publick uſe of the Common Prayer was denied to the Epiſcopal Party, yet in private Houſes he allowed them the uſe thereof; and had a particular Regard and Kindneſs for Dr. Browning, after Biſhop of Exeter, with whom he was formerly acquainted at Cambridge. And likewiſe to the renowned Archbiſhop Uſher, on whoſe Funeral he beſtowed 300*l*.

But the Clergy and Laity of the Royal Party in General, being declared Enemies to his Government, he kept a hard Hand over them. And tho' he publickly deteſted, ſeemed an implacable Enemy to the Papiſts, yet he was very familiar and obliging toward

toward ſome of them. Nay, one time a Treaty was begun about a general Toleration of their Religion, by converting the third part of their Eſtates given by former Laws, and which he duly received, into a certain Sum of Money, but not agreeing upon the Sum, and finding it would be ingrateful to the People, he deſiſted from it, yet Prieſts and Jeſuits ſaid Maſs privately without diſturbance.

He appointed a Court of Tryers for Approbation of Miniſters, who had Power to beſtow Church Livings, and to examine thoſe that were admitted, about their Converſion, and what Marks they could produce of the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and concerning their Manners and Learning. Hereby many Soldiers, Tradeſmen, and Shop-keepers, were admitted to the cure of Souls, without Ordination, and mingled with ſome skilful Preachers, who had been ordained. Yet he allowed a Toleration of Religion, to all different Parties in Religion, whom he thought might not indanger his Government.

As to his Demeanour in Civil Matters; he endeavoured to accommodate himſelf to the different Humours of Men, with the Nobles and great Men, with ſome few of whom he had an Intimacy; he delighted in Juſting and facetious Diſcourſe, entertaining them with merry Collations, Muſick, Hunting, and Hawking. With the Religious and thoſe that profeſſed ſtrict Piety, he would diſcourſe of Divine Matters with the greateſt ſeeming Warmth and Zeal, magnifying divine Mercy, laying his Hand on his Heart, would often ſigh and melt into Tears.

When he was in the Country, he uſed once or oftner a Year, to give the Neighbours a Buck, to be run down in his Park, and ſome Money to buy Wine to make merry with. He would often make

Feaſts

Feasts for the inferior Officers of the Army, and whilst they were feeding, before they had satisfied their Hunger, cause the Drums to beat, and let in the private Soldiers to fall on and snatch away the half eaten Dishes: The robust and sturdy Soldiers he loved to divert, by making them sometimes throw a burning Coal into each others Boots, or to fling Cushions at one anothers Heads; when the Officers had sufficiently laughed and tired themselves with these Preludes, he would endeavour to open their Hearts freely, and drew some Secrets from the unwary, which he after made use of to serve his own Purposes.

In short, no Man dived more cunningly into the Manners, nor knew more of Men; nay, if any Man was singular in any Art or Faculty he soon found him out. He had a great Command over all his Passions and Affections; could weep when he saw his Friend in Tears, and laugh as he saw occasion, yet would sometimes break out into Fury, yea, to Rage and Blows, but next Day would again be sorry for his Transports, and desire Pardon and Reconciliation.

That he had real Courage and Valour above most Men of his time, his daring and prodigious Actions before related, sufficiently declare, yet when he came to the Protectorship, and had thereby created to himself so many Enemies, both among his own former Friends and Officers of the Army, as well as the Royalists, he seemed to fear every Thing. He whom Squadrons of Warriors, roaring of Cannons, and all the Instruments of Death could not appale in the open Field, appeared now disturbed at every new Face. He took particular Notice of the Carriage, Manners, Habit, and Language of all Strangers, especially if they seemed joyful. He never stirred abroad but with strong Guards, wearing Armour underneath his Cloaths, carrying a Sword, Fauchion,

Fauchion, Dagger, and ſeveral Piſtols about him; never coming back the ſtreight publick Road, nor the ſame Way, always travelling but with great haſte and ſpeed. His Lodgings had ſeveral back Doors, Locks and Keys, with Guards ſet every Night at each of them; neither did he ſeldom ſleep 3 Nights together in the ſame Chamber; ſo that his Mind ſuffered great Adverſity, eſpecially after that Libel publiſhed againſt him, called, *Killing no Murder*; inciting the killing of him as a Tyrant, by any Hand, affirming it to be an Act not only Glorious but Meritorious. Theſe Things ſo diſcompoſed him, that he was known often to deplore the Condition he was in, the Obſtinacy and Headſtrongneſs of the Engliſh Nation (as he called it) who would by no means be obliged to ſubmit peaceably to his Government.

Upon this Account he durſt not truſt the Tryal of State-Offenders to the Conſciences of a Legal Jury of 12 indifferent Men of the Neighbourhood, which is the ancient and ſingular Privilege of Engliſh-men for many hundred Years paſt. A Tryal that only pleaſes our Country-men, as being according to Law, Reaſon, and Equity. For if the offended Conqueror ſhall nominate and appoint a few of his own Creatures as Arbitrators of the Life and Fortune of the People, they no doubt to pleaſe their Maſter, will quickly find all he is deſirous to take off, guilty of Treaſon, and condemn them to ſuffer accordingly; which is indeed ſtrange Juſtice, the ſame Men being Accuſers, Witneſſes, Informers, and Judges; yet this was his way of proceeding againſt his Enemies (as well as the uſage of the Remainder of the Long Parliament) to try and condemn the Free-born Subjects of England by a new invented Tribunal, called, *An High Court of Juſtice*; and therefore Cromwel affirmed, That Juries ought to be taken away as an hindrance to

ſacred

ſacred Juſtice, which was thereby put into the Hands of the prophane common People. That the weightieſt Matters of the Law did not depend upon the Sentences of the Judges and the learned in the Law, but upon the Pleaſure and Prejudices of a Company of Men deſtitute of all ingenious Learning, nay, ſometimes almoſt of common Senſe. That it were conſonant to Juſtice, that 50 Men choſen out of the Flower of the whole Nation, ſhould determine of Lives and Fortunes.

So Juries, though the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks againſt Tyranny, muſt be removed becauſe he had been diſappointed by them in 2 or 3 Inſtances; one was, That three Royaliſts, Daviſon, Holder, and Thorold, being committed to a Provoſt Marſhal, in order to be try'd before a High Court of Juſtice for acting in behalf of King Charles II. they made their eſcape by piſtoling a Soldier that guarded them. But being retaken, were try'd for Murder at the King's Bench bar; the Lord Chief Juſtice promiſing his Endeavours to have them condemned. When they came upon their Tryal, they pleaded Not Guilty, and the Queſtion was, Whether they were legally committed, if not, what they did was in their own Defence, and could be only Manſlaughter. The Jury found them not legally committed, and ſo acquitted them of the Murder. This with the clearing of John Lilburn, and likewiſe of Sir John Stawell ſometime before, who notwithſtanding the Capitulation he made upon ſurrendering one of the King's Garriſons, was thrice brought to a Tryal for his Life, and thrice acquitted by the Jury; which was abſolutely contrary to Law, to be try'd again for the ſame Fact. Theſe Things made Cromwel inveigh bitterly againſt the ancient and excellent way of Tryal by Juries.

And

And as his Conduct herein was as Arbitrary as his turning out his Maſters from whom he had his Commiſſion, without any pretence of Authority; ſo his aſſuming the Government in a ſingle Perſon, after he had publickly renounced the ſame by Oath, with his Garbling of Parliaments, afterward diſcovers him to have a Conſcience of no very tender Conſtitution. And tho' his Policy was remarkable in many Inſtances as well as his Courage, yet his joining with France againſt Spain, which was too low before for his Rival, will ſcarcely be allowed to be the effect of any great Foreſight. Though it may be mitigated by the miſtaken Zeal of ſome of his Preachers, in whom he ſeemed to repoſe much Confidence, who aſſured him, That he ſhould go on and proſper, That he was the Stone cut out of the Mountain without Hands, mentioned in the Prophecy of Daniel, That he ſhould break the Pride of the Spaniard, cruſh Antichriſt, and the Inquiſition, and make Way for the Purity of the Goſpel over the whole World; theſe and ſuch other Motives made him undertake, it may be, what he never at firſt deſigned.

However a Gentleman, who had no great Favour for him, allows, That in ſome Things he deſerved well of the Nation, namely, That by Blake he more humbled and ſubdued the Algerine, Tripoly, and Tunis Pirates, than any ever before or ſince. That Weſtminſterhall had never more learned and upright Judges, nor was Juſtice in Law or Equity ever more equally diſtributed, in Civil Caſes where the Government was not concerned. That he diſpenſed with the Act of Navigation, which had brought great Inconveniences upon the Nation. That though he was very impolitick in joining with France, againſt Spain, yet he made a more advantagious Treaty of Commerce with France than ever the Engliſh had before. That he had the

the Sea Towns of Dunkirk and Mardyke, conquered from Spain, delivered up to him (and would have had Oſtend, had he not been deluded, thereby to be Arbitrator over the French or Spaniard when he pleaſed. Laſtly, That he outvied the beſt of our Monarchs, in rendring the Laws to the Subject in the Engliſh Tongue, which is conformable to common Juſtice, for if a Law be made in a Language not underſtood by the Subject, it is all one as if there were no Laws at all; becauſe where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion.

Another learned Author adds, That during this Government, Mens Manners, at leaſt outwardly, ſeemed to be reformed for the better, whether by real ſubſtracting the Fewel of Luxury, or for fear of the ancient Laws now revived and put in Execution. His own Court was alſo regulated according to a ſevere Diſcipline, here no Drunkard, Swearer, Whoremonger, nor any guilty of Bribery, was to be found, without ſevere Puniſhment. Trade began again to Proſper, and gentle Peace to flouriſh all over the Nation. Thus writes this Gentleman, who in other Inſtances appears ſufficiently his Enemy. We will then conclude with that old Maxim, *What was good in him, let us imitate; what was otherwiſe, let us avoid.*

After his Expiration, the Corps was embalmed, and wrapped in a Sheet of Lead, and Sept. 26. about 10 at Night, removed from Whitehall in a mourning Hearſe to Somerſet Houſe, where his Effigies was with great Magnificence expoſed publickly to the View of Multitudes who came daily to ſee it, till Nov. 3. following, and then in great State it was conducted from Somerſet Houſe to Weſtminſter, and placed in the Abbey Church, under a ſtately Monument erected for it, with the Banners and ſix Enſigns of Honour placed about

about it, the Corps having been ſome Days before buried in a Vault purpoſely provided in King Henry the VIIth's Chappel.

Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwel it plainly appeared, that his ſingle Courage, Conduct, and Greatneſs of Mind, was the principal Supports of his new Government, which upon his Fall, ſoon tottered and fell alſo.

His eldeſt Son Richard was proclaimed Lord Protector; but the Officers of the Army differ among themſelves, ſome affirming, That Cromwel when he was well, promiſed his Son-in-Law Fleetwood, that he ſhould ſucceed him (as being truly Godly) others, That purſuant to the Inſtrument of Government, he had elected Richard for his Succeſſor. The old Republican Officers having received hard Uſage from the Father, reſolved to revenge it upon his Son, by changing the Protectorſhip into a Common-wealth. Richard, whoſe Judgment and Actions were managed by the Direction and Suggeſtion of others, was perſuaded by his Friends in this Exigency, to call a Parliament, which he did accordingly, who met Jan. 27. 1658, and recognized or acknowledged Richard to be Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and hearing that the diſcontented Officers caballed againſt him, they made an Ordinance againſt their Meeting without Order; which ſo ſtung the Officers that they reſolved to be rid of Richard and his Parliament too; ſome of his Confidents adviſed him to ſeize the principal of them, but this he had no Heart to do, only talked big, and threatned, which they deſpiſed, being rather provoked than terrified thereby, threatning (as ſome did) to fire Whitehall, and kill all that reſiſted, if he did not inſtantly diſſolve the Parliament, which he was forced to do, and then they perſuaded him to reſign the Government, which at

length

length he died, and May 7. 1659, the Officers of the Army recal the remainder of the Long Parliament (in scorn called the Rump) which made way for King Charles II. So Richard Cromwel after about 8 Months Rule, returned to his former private Condition, and the Family of the Cromwelian Protectors expired.

Of all these Transactions, I have given a particular Account in the History of King Charles II. of the same Value with this, to which I refer the Reader.

7 JU66

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